This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

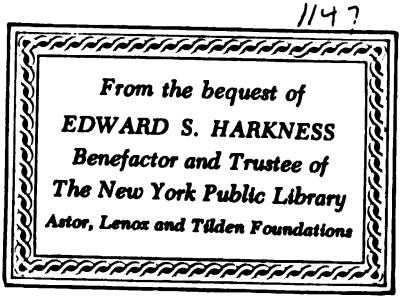
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 06731575 8

1147


From the bequest of
EDWARD S. HARKNESS
Benefactor and Trustee of
The New York Public Library
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

THE

WORKS

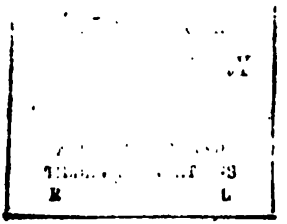
OF

VOLTAIRE.

VOL. XIX.

Being VOL. XIV. of his

PROSE WORKS.



Gwin del. Hall sculp

THE

WORKS

OF

1147

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON, S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY, and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXII.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
5903188
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1951 L

THE CONTENTS OF THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſituation of the affairs of Europe, and a brief review of matters anteceding the war of 1741. 1

CHAP. II.

The emperor Charles the Sixth dies: four powers diſpute for the ſucceſſion. The queen of Hungary acknowledged in her hereditary dominions. Sileſia ſeized upon by the king of Pruſſia. 33

CHAP. III.

The king of France unites with the kings of Pruſſia and Poland to advance Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the imperial throne: that prince is declared a lieutenant general in the ſervice of France: his election, his ſucceſs, and very rapid loſſes. 43

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. IV.

The relation of the emperor Charles VIIth's misfortunes continued. The battle of Sahay. The French are forſaken by the Pruſſians, and afterwards by the Saxons. Marſhal Maillebois' army make a fruitleſs march into Bohemia. Marſhal Belleiſle preſerves the army at Prague. 59

CHAP. V.

The ſtate of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs between England and Spain. Commercial intereſts. What ſhare Italy took in the troubles which aroſe after the death of Charles VI. The ſhare taken therein by Holland. Death of cardinal Fleury. 89

CHAP. VI.

Unhappy ſituation of the emperor Charles VII. Loſs of the battle of Dettingen. The army of France, which was ſent to aſſiſt the emperor in Bavaria, abandons his cauſe. 118

CHAP. VII.

The emperor Charles VII. undergoes freſh diſgraces. A new treaty among his enemies. Lewis XV. ſupports, at one and the ſame time, the emperor, the Infant Don Philip of Spain, and prince Charles Edward, who attempts to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors in England. The battle of Toulon. 136

PART

more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of Naples surprized at Velletri, in the neighbourhood of Rome. 192

CHAP. VI.

Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war becomes more violent than ever. 199

CHAP. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy. 213

SUPPLEMENT. 250

THE

CONTENTS.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The prince of Conti forces the paſſage of the Alps. Situation of affairs in Italy. 155

CHAP. II.

Firſt campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders: his ſucceſſes: he leaves Flanders to fly to the defence of Alſace, invaded by the Auſtrians, whilſt the prince of Conti continues to force a paſſage thro' the Alps. New alliances. The king of Pruſſia once more takes up arms. 161

CHAP. III.

The king's illneſs. His life is in danger. As ſoon as he recovers, he marches into Germany. He lays ſiege to Friburg, while the Auſtrian army, that had penetrated into Alſace, marches back to the relief of Bohemia; and the prince of Conti gains a battle in Italy. 178

CHAP. IV.

The ſiege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in Germany and Italy. 188

CHAP. V.

The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in favour of Maria Tereſa, againſt whom he had joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are more

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR of 1741.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſituation of the affairs of Europe, and a brief review of matters anteceding the war of 1741.

I HAVE always looked upon the Chriſtian powers of Europe as one great republic, all whoſe parts correſpond with each other, even when they aim at their mutual deſtruction. Certain cuſtoms, which we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations, have been eſtabliſhed by general conſent. The precedency of almoſt all princes has been ſettled; the Catholics have two cities in common; one of theſe is Malta, the center of a perpetual war waged againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian name; the other is Rome, which is in more reſpects than one, as it were, the capital of all the Catholic nations, each of which has a right

to name one of the ſovereign's principal miniſters; and their eccleſiaſtical, and even temporal cauſes are tried by the tribunal of the Rota, the judges compoſing which are taken from each nation. The ſovereigns, in all the Catholic frontiers, have ſome territories that are under the juriſdiction of a foreign biſhop. Nothing is more common than to ſee the prerogatives, honours, and orders of knighthood of one country conferred upon the natives of another. Moſt princes have even territories lying in the middle of other ſtates; as for example, the pope is poſſeſſed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples; the Venetians have dominions in the heart of the Milaneſe. There is ſcarcely a prince in Germany but has ſome dominions encloſed by the territory of another ſovereign.

The old Roman law is in full force in all theſe countries: they have all one and the ſame learned language; and every court ſpeaks the ſame living tongue *. Theſe connections have ſtill been ſtrengthened by commerce. The merchants carry on ſo cloſe a correſpondence, even in time of war, that at the very time in which the Engliſh were arming to ruin the Spaniards, they were deeply intereſted in the trade of that nation; ſo that when their privateers ſeized upon an enemy's ſhip, they were abſolutely plundering their own countrymen †. In effect, the wars waged againſt each other

* Namely, the French, which is ſpoken in every court of Europe but our own.

† This remark can allude only to our inſuring the ſhips of the enemy; a practice which, though prejudicial to the inſurer, has been proved beneficial to the community.

by

by Chriſtian princes have in them ſo much of the nature of civil wars, that in the year 1701, Victor, duke of Savoy, was in arms againſt his two ſons-in-law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded the Spaniards in the Milaneſe, and was near being made priſoner by his own ſon, who had followed the fortune of the houſe of Auſtria.

In the year 1718, when the duke of Orleans, regent of France, carried on a war againſt his couſin Philip V. of Spain, the duke of Liria ſerved againſt his father the duke of Berwick. In the war, the hiſtory of which I now write, the kings of France, Spain, Poland, and the elector of Bavaria, were the neareſt akin to the queen of Hungary, whom they attacked; and upon that very tie of relationſhip the laſt of theſe princes ſet up a claim to plunder her. We have ſeen, in the courſe of this war, Francis, great duke of Tuſcany, and now emperor of Germany, keep an envoy at Paris, whoſe children ſerved againſt him; and we have ſeen all the ſons of the Tuſcan prime miniſter in our ſervice. We had a thouſand examples of this kind before our eyes, and yet they did not ſurprize us.

All the ſovereigns of the different ſtates of this part of the world are allied either by blood or by treaty; and yet they ſcarcely conclude a marriage or a treaty that is not the cauſe of ſome future diſagreement.

Commerce, whereby they are neceſſarily linked, is almoſt always the occaſion of their diſſenting. The two ſubjects whereon to ground a war are every where elſe unknown: a wife is known, no where but in Europe, to

bring to her huſband a war for her dower, by ſetting up a right to ſome diſtant province. No act of confraternity is known among princes; nor a reverſion from one family to another no way related to it; nor yet ſmall fiefs paying homage at the ſame time to ſeveral great princes, who are diſputing about the homage and fief itſelf among one another, as it happens ſo often in Germany and Italy. Hence it ariſes that Aſia is almoſt always in a pacific ſtate *, if we except the invaſions of conquerors, who are in that part of the world yet more cruel than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels, more eſpecially among the Turks and Perſians, about frontiers.

Thoſe who accurately and nicely examine into the capital events of this world, will eaſily remark, that ſince the year 1600, there have been forty conſiderable wars in Europe, and but one of any conſequence in Great Tartary, China, and the Indies, countries of immenſe extent, better peopled, and much richer. In a word, there has been no war on account of trade in Aſia, Africa, or America, but what has been kindled by the Europeans †.

The marriage of Maximilian I. afterwards emperor of Germany, with Mary of Burgundy, had been for three ages the occaſion of a per-

* Witneſs the civil diſſentions in Perſia and India, by which the fineſt provinces in the world are reduced to ruin and deſolation.

† Here the author is miſtaken, as appears by the numberleſs wars carried on by the yncas of Peru, the emperors of Mexico, and the divers ſavage nations of America and Africa, long before Chriſtian colonies were eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries.

petual

petual difference between France and Auſtria. The American and Aſiatic trade was afterwards freſh ground for diſcord in Europe. The ſyſtem of the ballance of power in Europe, which is at preſent the cauſe and pretext of ſo many leagues and wars, firſt made its appearance during the diſputes between Charles V. and Francis I.

Henry VIII. king of England, who ſeeing himſelf between two potent rivals, laboured to prevent each from acquiring a ſuperiority, took for his device an archer, with his bow bent, and this motto, "Whom I defend ſhall be maſter;" but if Henry held the ballance, it was with an unſteady hand.

Henry IV. of France, oppreſſed by the houſe of Auſtria, was conſtantly aided by queen Elizabeth, and the ſtates of Holland owed their liberty to the protection of theſe two princes. So long as theſe three powers dreaded the ſuperiority of the houſe of Auſtria, England and Holland continued to be conſtant allies to France. If this union was now and then weakened, it was never totally deſtroyed, their real intereſts being ſo very apparent.

The proteſtant ſtates of Germany were alſo the natural friends of France, becauſe that ever ſince the time of Charles V. they had reaſon to fear the houſe of Auſtria might make a patrimony of the empire, and conſequently oppreſs them. The Swedes were invited into Germany by them, by France, nay even by Rome itſelf, which ſtood in awe of the imperial authority, always diſputed, and always prevailing in Italy. About the middle of the laſt century, England and Holland with plea-

ſure beheld the imperial branch of the houſe of Auſtria obliged to give up Luſatia to the electors of Saxony, the prefecture of Alſatia to France *, and Rouſſillon taken by force of arms from the Spaniſh branch of that houſe by Lewis XIII.

Cromwell the Uſurper did not oppoſe this alliance; for he remained firm to the French intereſt †, though he had murdered Lewis the Thirteenth's brother-in-law, and Lewis the Great's uncle. Every body almoſt wiſhed France ſucceſs againſt the Auſtrians, until Lewis XIV. became formidable from his conqueſts, which he owed to his having choſen the greateſt generals and moſt able miniſters of his time, as well as to the weakneſs of his enemies.

In 1667, he deprived the houſe of Auſtria of one half of Flanders, and of Franche-Comté the following year. It was now that the Dutch, becoming of ſome conſequence from their courage in war, and their induſtry in trade, no longer dreaded their old maſters the Auſtrians, and began to entertain ſome fears of their antient protectors the French. They compelled Lewis XIV. by dint of their negotiations, to

* By the treaty of Munſter.

† This union was the greateſt political flaw in the conduct of Cromwell; for, at this period, the power of France was beginning to grow very formidable, and that of Auſtria to decline. Cromwell's preferring the French to the Spaniſh intereſt, is ſaid to have been owing to the particular regard and veneration which he had conceived for the perſon and character of Charles Guſtavus king of Sweden, who was the faſt friend of France. Perhaps he was alſo influenced by the adulation of cardinal Mazarin, who cultivated his goodwill with the moſt proſtrate ſervility.

accede

accede to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and boaſted of their ſucceſs.

This was the firſt occaſion of that monarch's ſudden invaſion of Holland in 1672, in which project he eaſily induced Charles II. king of England, to concur; who not only wanted money, but had alſo ſome grounds of complaint againſt Holland. He preferred the chaſtiſement of the Dutch to the conqueſt of Flanders, which he might perhaps have kept, as he had ſome claims upon that territory; but England and Holland were ſoon after reunited, and ever ſince always oppoſed the French intereſt. The glory and power of Lewis XIV. encreaſed, and ſo in proportion did the number of his enemies.

The ſame ſyſtem of the balance of power ſo long oppoſed againſt the Auſtrians was now turned againſt the French. Ever ſince 1689, William III. king of England and ſtadtholder of Holland, had been the ſoul of a party which conjured up againſt France, Spain, Germany, England, Holland, and Savoy; nay even pope Innocent XI. Lewis the Great ſupported himſelf againſt all theſe enemies. He had, for a good while paſt, near 400,000 men in arms, and upwards of 100 ſhips of the line; of which, when he came to the throne, he had only ſix; and though his marine received ſuch a violent ſhock in the affair of La Hogue *, and the India company, which had been eſtabliſhed by the celebrated Colbert, was deſtroyed; yet he made a peace at Ryſwick, neither ſhameful nor unprofitable.

* Where the fleet under Tourville was totally defeated, in the year 1792, by admiral Ruſſel, afterwards created earl of Orford.

The ſyſtem of general equilibrium, compoſed of ſo many particular views, produced this peace, and engendered a ſcheme of politics unheard of before.

The laſt prince of the Auſtrian branch, who now ſate on the Spaniſh throne, had no children, and was in a very bad ſtate of health. The courts of London and the Hague entered into a compact with Lewis XIV. whom they did not love, whereby, in conjunction with him, they diſpoſed of the Spaniſh dominions. Theſe were ſhared among ſeveral powers, and a part given to Lewis, for fear he ſhould have put himſelf in a condition to ſeize upon the whole. Charles II. king of Spain, reſenting ſuch an inſult upon his weakneſs as that of dividing his eſtate even while he lived, named the ſon of the elector of Bavaria as his heir. This child was grandſon to Philip III.

The choice appeared both juſt and prudent: the houſe of Auſtria might murmur, but had it not in its power to avenge itſelf. The diſſentions which muſt have inevitably followed from the partition, was now no longer to be feared; and the equilibrium of Europe was preſerved: but this young prince died three months after his being declared heir to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

A ſecond partition treaty was then ſet on foot, whereby the Milaneſe was given to the houſe of Lorrain, and the latter territory ceded to France, part of which project we have ſeen carried into execution.

The king of Spain finding himſelf draw near his end, though in the flower of his age, propoſed to leave his crown to the archduke Charles, his wife's nephew, ſecond ſon to the emperor

emperor Leopold. So ſtrongly did the ſyſtem of equilibrium predominate, that he did not dare to leave his dominions to the eldeſt ſon, being certain that the fear of ſeeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, united under one prince, would raiſe the reſt of Europe in arms. He requeſted the emperor Leopold to ſend his ſecond ſon Charles to Madrid, at the head of 10,000 men; but of this proceeding neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy, would have allowed, being all for the partition. It happened, in theſe affairs of the utmoſt importance to the intereſt of two great kings, as it often does on very ſlight occaſions in private life; they had words, and came to an open rupture. The German pride could not digeſt the Spaniſh haughtineſs; the counteſs of Pelitz, who governed the queen of Spain, alienated inſtead of ſecuring the affections of the people, whom ſhe ſhould have attached to her ſide; and they were ſtill more diſguſted by the arrogance of the court of Vienna.

The young archduke commonly ſpoke of the Spaniards in a very diſreſpectful manner; and thence was taught, that princes ſhould be very cautious how they expreſſed themſelves. His ſpeeches were tranſmitted to Madrid, not without rancor, by the biſhop of Lerida, ambaſſador from Spain to the court of Vienna, who was diſguſted with the Germans. He wrote invectives much more bitter againſt the Auſtrian councils, than ever the archduke had thrown out againſt the Spaniards. "The diſpoſition of Leopold's miniſters," ſays he in one of his letters, "reſembles the horns of the bulls in

my country; *they are little, hard, and crooked.*" This letter was made public; the biſhop was recalled, and, on his return to Madrid, encreaſed more than ever the averſion of the Spaniards againſt the Germans. Many trifling matters, for ſuch will always intermingle themſelves among the moſt important affairs, contributed to bring about the great change which happened in Europe, and made way for that revolution whereby Spain and the Indies was for ever loſt to the houſe of Auſtria.

Cardinal Portocarero, and the reſt of the Spaniſh grandees, who were moſt in favour at court, united to prevent the diſmembering of the Spaniſh monarchy, and perſuaded Charles II. to prefer a grandſon of Lewis XIV. to a prince very diſtant from, and incapable of defending them. This diſpoſition was not annulling the ſolemn renunciation of the crown of Spain, which had been made by the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. becauſe it had been only made to prevent the two kingdoms from being united under their eldeſt born, who was not now ſelected. Thus juſtice was done to the rights of blood, at the ſame time that the Spaniſh monarchy was preſerved entire.

The king, who was a ſcrupulous man, conſulted the beſt divines, and they agreed in opinion with his council. At length, infirm as he was, he wrote himſelf to pope Innocent XII. ſtating the caſe, and aſking his advice. The Pope, who imagined he ſaw the liberty of Italy eſtabliſhed in proportion as the houſe of Auſtria was weakened, adviſed him in his anſwer to give the preference to the houſe of France. The pope's letter was dated July 16th, 1700.

He

He wiſely treated the king's caſe of conſcience as a matter of ſtate, while the king himſelf, who with good reaſon was deſirous of having juſtice on his ſide, treated this very important matter of ſtate as a caſe of conſcience.

Lewis XIV. had notice of this ſtep; the court of Verſailles had no other ſhare in this memorable event: there was not then even a French ambaſſador at Madrid; for marſhal Harcourt had been recalled ſix months before, his longer continuance there being diſagreeable, becauſe of the partition treaty, which France ſeemed ready to ſupport by force of arms. All Europe was miſtaken in ſuppoſing this treaty dictated at the court of Verſailles. The expiring monarch had conſulted only the intereſt of his kingdom, and the deſires of his ſubjects. This will, which cauſed ſuch an alteration in the affairs of Europe, was kept ſo ſecret, that count Harrach, the imperial ambaſſador, ſtill flattered himſelf that the archduke was the declared ſucceſſor, and waited a good while the iſſue of the council aſſembled immediately after the king's death, before he was undeceived.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms; the ambaſſador no longer doubted of the archduke's being a king, until he heard the duke d'Abrantes, as he embraced him, expreſs himſelf thus: "I come from taking leave of the houſe of Auſtria."

Thus, after two hundred years ſpent in war and negotiations about ſome frontiers of the Spaniſh dominions, France ſaw herſelf, by a ſtroke of a pen, put into poſſeſſion of the whole monarchy, without treaty or cabal, nay, without ſo much as having hoped for that ſucceſſion.

It has been in ſome meaſure the cuſtom thus to publiſh here the plain truth of a fact hitherto miſrepreſented by ſtateſmen or hiſtorians, according as prejudices or appearances miſled them. That which has in ſo many volumes been ſet forth of the ſums of money laviſhed by the marſhal d'Harcourt, and his bribing the Spaniſh miniſters to come at the will, muſt be ranked amongſt political lies and popular errors. The miniſter then at the head of foreign affairs in France has given an authentic atteſtation of this truth under his own hand-writing; but the king of Spain, in chuſing for his ſucceſſor the grandſon of a king who had been ſo long his enemy, had plainly employed his thoughts on the conſequences which the idea of a general equilibrium muſt neceſſarily excite.

The duke of Anjou, grandſon to Lewis XIV. had been called to the ſucceſſion of Spain only becauſe there ſeemed to be no hope of his ever riſing to the throne of France; and the ſame will which, in caſe of the failure of princes of the blood of Lewis XIV. bequeathed the crown to the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor by the name of Charles VI. expreſly ſtipulates that the empire and Spain ſhould never be reunited under the ſame ſovereign.

That branch of the houſe of Auſtria which ſat on the imperial throne, ſeeing itſelf deprived of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, except as a ſubſtitute, raiſed almoſt all Europe in arms againſt the houſe of Bourbon. That very Leopold who neither would nor could ſend ten thouſand men into Spain to ſecure the throne to his ſon the archduke, ſoon brought an hundred thouſand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father

ther-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and to the king of Spain, entered ſhortly after into a confederacy againſt his ſons-in-law. England and Holland, which had declared for the archduke, ſuſtained the chief burthen of this long war, until at length that equilibrium which had been a pretext for ſo many diſputes, became itſelf the baſis of a peace. The very thing happened which had been foreſeen by Charles II. The archduke, to whom the Spaniſh monarchy had been proviſionally left, and for whom a bloody war had been kindled, became emperor in 1711, by the death of his elder brother Joſeph. That faction which in England was called Tory, and which oppoſed the Whig adminiſtration, made uſe of this opportunity to diſpoſe queen Anne to laviſh no more the blood and treaſure of the Engliſh in a cauſe whereby the emperor Charles VI. muſt acquire more power than ever had been veſted in the hands of Charles VI. and by a continuance, in which ſhe alſo acted in direct oppoſition to the views and real intereſt of England, as well as the reſt of Europe, which had been apprehenſive of ſeeing Spain and the empire united under the ſame crowned head. But an incident, from which ſuch important conſequences could never have been expected, contributed more than any thing elſe to bring about the great work of peace.

One of the chief cauſes of the will of Charles II. had been the haughtineſs of a German lady. The peace of Europe was owing to the inſolence with which an Engliſh lady treated queen Anne. The ducheſs of Marlborough put the queen

queen into a violent paſſion; ſo that ſhe loſt all patience, and the Tories turned the affair to their own advantage. The queen changed her miniſters and her meaſures. England, after being ſo long the bitter enemy of France, was the firſt to conclude a peace with her *: and ſoon afterwards that very uſeful victory obtained by marſhal Villars at Denain, in the neighbourhood of Landrecy, determined the ſtates of Holland and the emperor Charles VI. to make a general peace.

Lewis XIV. after being perſecuted for ten years by evil fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to ſuch diſtreſs that he was forced to abandon the ſupport of his grandſon, and having had the mortification to find himſelf not attended to, unleſs he joined with the allies againſt his own blood, had yet at length the ſatisfaction to ſee his grandſon firmly ſettled upon the throne of Spain.

But there was a neceſſity for dividing this monarchy, which had been given to Philip V. only in hope that it might not be diſmembered. By the treaty of Raſtadt and Baden, made in 1714, the emperor was to keep all the Auſtrian Netherlands, with the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, in ſpite of that antient law which provides that this kingdom ſhall never be held with the empire. Charles V. had ſubmitted to this law in receiving the inveſtiture of Naples from the pope, before he had aſſumed the imperial crown. But this very powerful vaſſal of

* At Utrecht—It is no eaſy taſk to determine whether this peace was moſt owing to party or to patriotiſm.

the

the pope's found not much difficulty in obtaining a releaſe from his oath; and Charles VI. afterwards experienced as much civility from the court of Rome as Charles V. had done.

Sicily, another branch which had been lopped from the Spaniſh monarchy, was then bequeathed to the duke of Savoy, who had afterwards Sardinia in exchange for it. At length Minorca and Gibraltar having been taken by the Engliſh, remained to that nation. By this peace the king of Pruſſia was put in poſſeſſion of the Upper Guelderland. The Dutch acquired for their barrier Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, Dendermonde, &c. The emperor, beſides ceding to them the defence of theſe places, paid them annually two millions five hundred thouſand livres; a convention ſcarcely to be paralelled in hiſtory, that a ſovereign ſhould give up his ſtrong towns and his money to his allies, inſtead of gariſoning the places with his troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father to him who was afterwards emperor under the name of Charles VII. and his brother, the elector of Cologn, were reinſtated in their principalities and rights, which they had loſt by ſiding with France, and being unfortunate. The emperor Joſeph had, of his own authority, and independent of the conſent of the three colleges, put them under the ban of the empire. Thus vaſt advantages were acquired by all the potentates. The principal, and yet it was not ſufficiently reſpected, was the preſervation of mankind. An hundred thouſand men at leaſt muſt have been annually ſacrificed in the courſe of a

war

war wherein ſix hundred thouſand men * were conſtantly in arms on both ſides in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Flanders. It is an undoubted truth that in ten years time the ſouthern parts of Europe had loſt above one million of men in the flower of their age.

The twenty years which followed the peace of Utrecht enabled each nation to repair its loſſes; a happy ſeries of years, the felicity of which met with very ſlight interruption. England encreaſed her trade by the ceſſion made to her by France of Newfoundland and Acadia, alſo by the Aſſiento contract, which put her in poſſeſſion of the Negro trade in Spaniſh America, and, in fine, by the liberty which ſhe extorted from Spain of ſending annually a ſhip to Porto Bello, whereby ſhe carried on an immenſe contraband trade.

France had above eighteen hundred merchant ſhips employed in 1740; whereas at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, ſhe had not more than three hundred. Her trade and manufactures flouriſhed. A new Eaſt-India company aroſe out of the ruins of a ſyſtem of finances which in 1719 had impoveriſhed one part of the nation, and enriched the other; and in 1725 it advanced to the government ten millions of livres, and was poſſeſſed of thirty-nine millions in ſhips, ſtorehouſes, and merchantable goods. This company rebuilt and enlarged the town of Pondicherry, which is at preſent inhabited

* The preſent war has armed a conſiderably greater number, and been attended with more miſery to the human ſpecies.

by

by an hundred thouſand people, regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon *. They cauſed the harbour of Port l'Orient in Brittany to be cleanſed, and raiſed the place from a ſmall village to a trading town. They were poſſeſſed of ſixty ſhips, from four hundred to eight hundred tons. In fine, during the ſpace of twenty-eight years they had been eſtabliſhing a nurſery for ſeamen, and a ſource of continual abundance; for while all the ſtock proprietors received a conſiderable intereſt from the farming of tobacco, all the profits of the company were expended in making new eſtabliſhments. They could be charged with nothing but ſuperfluous expences, which are ſtrong proofs of wealth. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions †, and enriched the commonwealth by the commodities tranſported from one hemiſphere to the other. Since the year 1712, ſome of theſe colonies have encreaſed doubly.

Almoſt every town in France was anew embelliſhed, and the whole kingdom was apparently more populous, having, during this long æra, received no diſturbance from foreign wars. The falling out between the duke of Orleans, then regent, and Spain, in 1718, was but of

* The populouſneſs and ſtrength of Pondicherry are greatly magnified by Voltaire, as was manifeſt on its late reduction, under the auſpices of colonel Coote. It was certainly the beſt fortified place in the Eaſt-Indies, but is now wholly diſmantled.

† About four millions ſterling—Hence the importance of Martinique and Guadalupe, their chief ſettlements, may be eſtimated.

ſhort.

ſhort duration, nor was it attended with unfortunate conſequences. It was not a quarrel between nation and nation, but between two princes; in Paris it was hardly minded; the people there attended to nothing but the great game of ſtocks, which made and undid ſo many great fortunes.

The views of Spain were to recover the provinces which had been rent from her formerly; and this was not a time for her to make the attempt. It was to no purpoſe that her troops made a deſcent upon the iſland of Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor, and afterwards upon Sicily, of which the duke of Savoy had been put in poſſeſſion by the peace of Utrecht. All the fruit of theſe armaments was that the emperor Charles VI. aſſiſted by an Engliſh ſquadron, and aided even by the regent of France, ſeized upon Sicily for himſelf, tho' by the peace of Utrecht it had been ceded to the houſe of Savoy, the princes of which, after having been four years kings of Sicily, became kings of Sardinia, which they ſtill hold.

Never at any time were ſo many negotiations on foot as now; never ſo many treaties; nor ſo many jealouſies. The intereſt of each nation ſeemed to change with that of individuals. The Engliſh government, which had been cloſely united with that miniſtry which during the reign of Lewis XIV. had done every thing to fix Philip V. upon the throne of Spain, now changed ſides: matters went ſo far from rolling in their natural channel, that the court of Madrid flung herſelf into the arms of her rival and enemy the court of Vienna, who had ſo long conteſted with her for the ſovereignty of Naples,

ples, and lately deprived her of the iſland of Sicily.

In ſhort, this very emperor Charles VI. whoſe firm intention was always to prevent the new houſe of Spain from having any footing in Italy, was ſo far prevailed upon, though of a different inclination, as to conſent that a ſon of Philip V. and of his ſecond wife Elizabeth of Parma, ſhould be introduced with ſix thouſand Spaniards into the duchies of Parma and Placentia, though the ſucceſſion was not as yet open: he alſo gave the eventual inveſtiture of it, as well as that of the great dukedom of Tuſcany, by a ſolemn treaty, which had been long upon the carpet, in 1725, to Don Carlos *; and he received two hundred thouſand Spaniſh piſtoles, by way of purchaſe for an engagement which was one day to coſt him ſo dear. All the proceedings of this agreement were ſurprizing: two rival houſes were united without any confidence in each other. The Engliſh, after having done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and diſpoſſeſſed him of Gibraltar and Minorca, which in ſpite of Spain they ſtill keep, were the mediators of this peace. It was ſigned by Riperda, a Dutchman, who was then all-powerful in Spain, and who was diſgraced after having ſigned it †.

While the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Bourbon thus encreaſed her dominions by a tranſient union with her enemy, ſhe had a miſ-

* The preſent king of Spain, who was conducted to Naples by an Engliſh fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager.

† He afterwards died in great indigence and obſcurity at Tetuan, on the coaſt of Barbary.

under-

underſtanding with the French branch, in ſpite of the ties of blood and intereſt whereby they ought ſooner or later to be reunited. It was thus the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria had been formerly divided. France, having at that time joined with England, had no real allies; but in the year 1727 things began to fall into their natural channel. The French miniſtry ſtrengthened the bonds of friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two houſes of France; and that miniſtry appearing altogether equitable and diſintereſted, became inſenſibly the mediators of Europe.

A war broke out between England and Spain, occaſioned by a commercial diſpute. The Spaniards laid ſiege to Gibraltar, before which town they waſted both their time and their forces, for the Engliſh had rendered it impregnable. France was the mediatrix; ſhe ſaved the honour of the Spaniards by prevailing on them to raiſe the ſiege, and reconciling the diſputing parties by treaty.

The emperor would have eluded the promiſe he had made of ceding Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to Don Carlos. The French miniſtry engaged him to keep his word: they alſo artfully prevailed upon the Engliſh, though avowed enemies to the grandeur of the houſe of Bourbon, to tranſport ſix thouſand Spaniards into Italy, thereby to ſecure to Don Carlos his new territory; and, in fine, that prince was ſhortly after conveyed thither, together with his troops, by an Engliſh fleet. In 1731 he was acknowledged ſovereign of Parma, and heir to the dukedom of Tuſcany. The great duke of Florence, the laſt of the Medici family, accepted

cepted of an heir, which had been given him without his having been once conſulted.

Some time before the French miniſtry had determined the emperor in his reſolution of ſuppreſſing the Eaſt-India company, which had been eſtabliſhed at Oſtend. It was the intereſt of all trading nations, whereof France was not then the leaſt conſiderable. She enjoyed the ſerene glory of making up all differences between her neighbours, when the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, gave a total change to the affairs of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, then near fourſcore years of age, made it his whole ſtudy to preſerve this happy peace to France, and to all Europe. His turn of mind, his character, his time of life, and his glory, which was founded in moderation, all rendered him averſe to war. Walpole *, the prime miniſter of England, was exactly of the ſame way of thinking: Spain was poſſeſſed of all ſhe had required. The North was in profound peace, when the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, replunged Europe into that ſeries of misfortunes from which ſhe is rarely exempt for ten years together.

King Staniſlaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. already nominated to the crown of Poland in 1704, had been choſen in the moſt legal and ſolemn manner; but the emperor Charles VI. obliged the ſtates to proceed to another election,

* Sir Robert Walpole was averſe to the war, from an apprehenſion that the demand of extraordinary ſupplies to carry it on, would introduce an inquiry into his conduct, particularly with reſpect to the national debt, which, notwithſtanding his boaſted ſinking fund, had been ſo little diminiſhed during a peace of near thirty years.

which

which was ſupported by the Imperial and Ruſſian arms. The ſon of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and Charles VI's nephew, carried it from his competitor. Thus the houſe of Auſtria, which had found itſelf unable to keep Spain and the Weſt-Indies, was yet ſufficiently ſtrong to wreſt Poland from Lewis the Fifteenth's father-in-law. France ſaw the ſame accident repeated, which had happened to Prince Armand de Conti, who tho' ſolemnly elected, yet being without money and troops, and little better recommended than ſupported, loſt that kingdom, to which he had been called by the voice of the people. King Staniſlaus went to Dantzick to ſupport his election; but the majority by whom he had been choſen ſoon allowed themſelves to be borne down by the minority that were againſt him. This country, where the people are enſlaved; where the nobility ſell their votes; where there is never money enough in the public treaſury to maintain an army; where the laws are without vigour; where their liberty is only productive of diviſions; this ſame country, I ſay, boaſts in vain their warlike nobility, who can bring into the field 100,000 men.

Ten thouſand men ſoon diſperſed the partizans of Staniſlaus. The kingdom of Poland, which in the preceding age looked upon the Ruſſians with contempt, were now intimidated and directed by them. The empire of Ruſſia had become formidable ſince it had been new modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thouſand diſciplined ſlaves of Ruſſia made the Poliſh nobility diſappear; and Staniſlaus, having taken refuge in the city of Dantzick, was quickly beſieged

ſieged by 40,000 Ruſſians: the emperor of Germany, united with Ruſſia, thought himſelf certain of ſucceſs. To preſerve the balance of power, France ſhould have ſent thither a numerous army by ſea; but England could not, without taking part, have tamely looked on amidſt ſuch immenſe preparations. Cardinal Fleury, willing to keep well with that crown, neither choſe to have the ſhame of entirely abandoning the cauſe of Staniſlaus, nor yet did he incline to hazard any large number of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a ſquadron, on board of which were embarked 1500 men commanded by a brigadier. This officer did not look upon his commiſſion in a ſerious light; ſo that judging, as he approached Dantzick, that he ſhould only ſacrifice his little army, without reaping any advantage, retired into Denmark.

Count de Plelo, ambaſſador from France to the king of Denmark, beheld with indignation a retreat which ſeemed ſo mortifying to the nation. He was a young man well verſed in polite learning and philoſophy, inſpired with ſentiments of a very heroic nature, and deſerving of a better fate. He reſolved to ſuccour Dantzick with this ſmall force againſt a powerful army, or to die in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to count de Maurepas, the miniſter of ſtate, which concluded thus: "I am certain I ſhall never return; to you I recommend my wife and children." He arrived before Dantzick, landed his men, and attacked the Ruſſian army. He fell in the field as he had predicted, covered with wounds; and thoſe

of his followers that were not killed, were made priſoners of war. His letter, which was very affecting, and the account of his death, reached Paris together. It drew tears from the eyes of the whole council: he was unanimouſly admired and lamented. I remember, ſome time after, when his widow appeared with her children in the public walks, the multitude gathered round with acclamations of tenderneſs, fully expreſſive of the veneration in which they held his memory.

Dantzick was taken: the ambaſſador from France to Poland, who was then in the place, was made priſoner of war, without any reſpect being paid to the privileges of his character. King Staniſlaus eſcaped, but not without infinite danger, and by means of more diſguiſes than one; after having ſeen a price ſet by the Muſcovite general upon his head, in a free country, of which he was a native, and in the heart of a nation to the rule of which he had been every way legally elected.

The French miniſtry had totally loſt that reputation ſo neceſſary to the ſupport of grandeur, had they not revenged ſuch an inſult; but that inſult would have been ill-timed, if not advantageous. Their diſtance from each other prevented the Muſcovites from feeling the indignation of France; and policy directed it ſhould be turned againſt the emperor, which was effectually done in Germany and Italy.

France entered into alliance with Spain and Sardinia. Theſe three powers had different intereſts, but all united in the one point of weakening the houſe of Auſtria. The dukes of

of Savoy had been a long time encreaſing their dominions by ſlow degrees; ſometimes by hiring troops to the emperors, and ſometimes by declaring againſt them. King Charles-Emanuel had his eye upon the Milaneſe, and it had been promiſed him by the miniſtry both of Verſailles and Madrid. Philip V. of Spain, or, more properly ſpeaking, his ſpouſe Elizabeth of Parma, hoped for ſome better eſtabliſhment for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no advantage in view but his own glory, the humbling of his enemies, and the triumph of his allies. No-body then foreſaw that Lorrain would be the fruit of this war. We are almoſt always guided by events, whereof we have ſeldom the direction. Never was any negotiation brought to ſo quick a concluſion as that which united theſe three monarchs. England and Holland, which had been generally accuſtomed to ſide with Auſtria againſt France, forſook her upon this occaſion. This was the effect of that character for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired. It was owing to the notion conceived by her natural enemies, that her views were purely pacific, and free from all ambitious views, that kept them quiet, even while ſhe was at war. Nothing could have done more honour to cardinal Fleury, than his being able to perſuade the different powers, that France might wage war againſt the emperor without endangering the liberties of Europe: therefore they looked quietly upon the rapid ſucceſs of the French arms. They were maſters of the Rhine, and conjunctively with Spain and Savoy ruled in Italy, where marſhal Villars died at

the age of 84, after having taken Milan. His ſucceſſor marſhal Coigni obtained two victories, while the Spaniſh general, the duke de Montemart, gained a battle at Bitonto in the kingdom of Naples, whence he acquired a new ſurname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuſcany, was ſoon declared king of Naples. Thus did the emperor loſe almoſt all Italy by having given a king to Poland; and a ſon of the king of Spain was in two campaigns ſecured in poſſeſſion of the two Sicilies; kingdoms which had been ſo often taken and retaken, and which, for two centuries paſt, had been always claimed by the houſe of Auſtria.

This war in Italy is the only one which was terminated with any ſolid ſucceſs to the French ſince the time of Charlemagne. There was this reaſon for it: the guardian of the Alps, now become the moſt powerful prince in theſe territories, was on their ſide: they were aſſiſted by the beſt troops in the ſervice of the crown of Spain, and their armies were always well ſupplied. The emperor was then glad to ſubſcribe to ſuch terms of peace as were offered him by victorious France. Cardinal Fleury, who had had wiſdom enough to prevent England and Holland from taking part in the war, had alſo the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it brought to a happy iſſue without their interpoſition.

By this peace Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and the two Sicilies. Europe had been long accuſtomed to ſee kingdoms given away and exchanged. The inheritance of the houſe of Medicis, which had been formerly awarded to Don Carlos, was now made over

to

to Francis duke of Lorraine, the emperor's intended ſon-in-law. The laſt grand duke of Tuſcany aſked, upon his death-bed, "If they did not intend him a third heir, and what child did it pleaſe the empire and France to make for him?" Not that the grand duchy of Tuſcany looked upon itſelf as a fief of the empire; but the emperor regarded it as ſuch, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy ſee, to which the laſt duke of Parma had paid homage; ſo much do the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which were the birth-right of Don Carlos, ſon to Philip V. and a princeſs of Parma, were yielded as his property to the emperor Charles VI.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who had laid his account in having the Milaneſe, to which his family, which had gradually aggrandiſed itſelf, had ſome old pretenſions, obtained only a ſmall ſhare of it, viz. the Novareſe, the Tortoneſe, and the fiefs of Langhes: he derived his claim to this dukedom from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, his anceſtor. France had alſo ſome old pretenſions deſcended to them from Lewis XII. the natural heir of the duchy. Philip V. had likewiſe his claims founded upon the infeoffments renewed to four kings of Spain his predeceſſors; but theſe pretenſions yielded to conveniency and public advantage. The emperor kept poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, notwithſtanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which enjoins that the emperor ſhould always grant the inveſtiture of them, as lord paramount; otherwiſe he might, in proceſs of

time, ſwallow up all the feudal dependencies of his crown.

By this treaty king Staniſlaus renounced the kingdom, to which he had been twice elected, and in the poſſeſſion of which his friends could not preſerve him. He retained the title of king; but he wanted a more ſolid indemnity; an indemnity more advantageous to France than to himſelf. Cardinal Fleury ſeemed at that time contented with the duchy of Bar *, which was yielded to Staniſlaus by the duke of Lorrain, and the reverſion to the crown of France: but the then reigning duke of Lorrain was not to yield up his duchy, till put in full poſſeſſion of Tuſcany. Thus the giving up Lorrain depended upon many caſualties; and thus very little profit aroſe from the greateſt ſucceſs and moſt favourable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to make his own uſe of theſe advantages: he demanded Lorrain upon the ſame terms with the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it: it only coſt him a little ready money, and a penſion of four millions five hundred thouſand livres granted to Francis until the duchy of Tuſcany ſhould devolve to him. Thus the reunion of Lorrain with France, which had before been ſo

* The duchy of Bar, though but a poor equivalent for the crown of Poland, yields, nevertheleſs, a conſiderable revenue. It is ſurrounded now entirely by the French dominions, but was formerly ſubject to the dukes of Lorrain, and generally included within the limits of that duchy, until duke Charles III. was deſpoiled of his territories in 1633, by an edict of the parliament of Paris, and his dominions united to France in 1659, by an article in the treaty of the Pyrenees.

often tried in vain, was irrecoverably completed. By this proceeding a Poliſh king was tranſplanted into Lorrain, the reigning dukes of Lorrain were removed into Tuſcany, and a ſecond ſon of Spain mounted the throne of Naples. The medal of Trajan thus inſcribed, *Regna aſſignata*, "kingdoms diſpoſed of," might have been renewed by France.

The emperor Charles VI. thought he had gained conſiderably by this treaty: he had been labouring ever ſince the year 1713 to engage all the ſtates of the empire, and the princes his neighbours, to guaranty the indiviſible poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions to his eldeſt daughter Maria Thereſa, who had been married to the duke of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuſcany, in 1736. The emperor hoped to ſee his almoſt expiring race revived in the perſon of his eldeſt daughter's ſon, which ſon might preſerve the patrimony of the houſe of Auſtria, and rejoin it to the empire. With this view he had contributed to raiſe the elector of Saxony, who had married one of his nieces, to the throne of Poland by force of arms; and procured the guaranty of that famous act of ſucceſſion, entituled The Caroline Pragmatic Sanction. It was guarantied by England, Holland, Ruſſia, Denmark, and the ſtates of the empire: he even flattered himſelf that he ſhould obtain an equivalent to a formal acceptation from the elector of Bavaria, which elector was on that account to intermarry with his niece, daughter of the emperor Joſeph. In ſhort, he thought he had ſecured every thing, when he had obtained the guaranty of France; although prince Eugene, a little before his death, had told him he ought

to have an army of 200,000 ſoldiers, and no guaranty.

He preſſed the French miniſtry, however, to aſſure, by treaty, the order eſtabliſhed in the Auſtrian ſucceſſion; and they conſented. The elector of Bavaria, who imagined he had lawful claims upon the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, in prejudice to Charles the Sixth's daughters, intreated alſo the protection of the court of France, who was at that time of ſufficient weight to ſettle all their rights. That miniſtry, in 1737, gave the emperor to underſtand, that by this guaranty nothing was intended that could injure the pretenſions of the houſe of Bavaria; and they reminded him, that in 1732, when he prevailed upon the ſtates of the empire to accede to this Pragmatic Sanction, he had formally declared he would not prejudice the rights of any perſon whatever. They entreated him to do juſtice to the houſe of Bavaria, and their remonſtrances were for that time made in ſecret. Thoſe ſparks, which were ſo ſoon to cauſe a moſt dreadful combuſtion, were now concealed beneath the embers.

All the princes of Chriſtendom were at peace, if we except the diſputes juſt kindling between Spain and England about their American commerce. The court of France was ſtill looked upon as the general arbitrator of Europe.

The emperor, without conſulting the empire, made war upon the Turks. It was unfortunate to him; but the mediation of France ſaved him on the very brink of the precipice to which he had been driven. Monſ. Villeneuve, her ambaſſador to the Port, went into Hungary, and in 1739 concluded a peace with the grand

grand vizier, of which his imperial majeſty ſtood in much need.

France almoſt at the ſame time reſtored peace to the republic of Genoa, menaced with a civil war: ſhe likewiſe ſubdued and tempered the Corſicans, who had thrown off the Genoeſe yoke. The iſland of Corſica, which had long ſince aſſumed the title of a kingdom, had ſubmitted, about the end of the thirteenth century, to the Genoeſe; a richer people, but leſs numerous, and leſs warlike. The Corſicans, who were always untractable, were now in open rebellion, under pretence of their being oppreſſed: their laſt inſurrection had continued ever ſince 1725. A German gentleman, a native of the county of Marck, called Theodore de Neuhoff, having travelled all over Europe in ſearch of adventures, chanced to be at Leghorn in 1736: he held a correſpondence with the malecontents, and offered them his ſervice. Being employed by them for that purpoſe, he embarked for Tunis, and returned to Corſica with a reinforcement of arms, ammunition, and money; whereupon he was declared king: he was crowned with a laurel wreath, acknowledged by the whole iſland, and carried on the war. The Genoeſe ſenate ſet a price upon his head; but being neither able to procure his aſſaſſination, nor yet to reduce the Corſicans, implored the emperor's protection. As this appeared a dangerous ſtep, becauſe the emperor, looking upon himſelf as lord paramount of Italy, would have ſet himſelf up as ſupreme judge between Genoa and the rebels; the ſenate had then recourſe to France, who ſent into that iſland ſucceſſively count de Boiſſieux, and

the marquis de Maillebois, afterwards a marſhal of France. Theodore * was driven out of the iſland, the malecontents quieted, at leaſt for a while, and all things were peaceably ſettled.

While France was interpoſing her good offices between the Genoeſe and Corſicans, ſhe was doing the ſame for Spain and England, who were juſt embarking in a ſea war, much more deſtructive than the claims about which they had quarrelled were valuable. In 1735, France had employed herſelf in ſettling the diſputes between Spain and Portugal; none of her neighbours had any right to complain of her; all nations looked upon her as their mediatrix and common parent.

* Some years after, this unfortunate perſon died, a priſoner for debt, in one of the jails in London, leaving a juſt ſtigma on the ill-timed penury of the Britiſh ad—ſt—r.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The emperor Charles the Sixth dies: four powers diſpute for the ſucceſſion. The queen of Hungary acknowledged in her hereditary dominions. Sileſia ſeized upon by the king of Pruſſia.

IN the month of October 1740, the emperor Charles VI. died at the age of fifty-five. It is neceſſary for princes, as the peace of their dominions depends upon their reſpective lives, to know that this monarch's death was occaſioned by over-eating himſelf at an entertainment. It was accident brought him to the grave, and reduced the empire to the brink of deſtruction. As the death of the king of Poland, Auguſtus II. had cauſed great diſturbances, it is evident that of Charles VI. the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, muſt have produced far other revolutions. In the firſt place, Italy expected to become independent, a ſtate to which it had long aſpired. Several principalities, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, diſclaimed this ſubjection. Rome eſpecially, plundered by Charles V. ſeverely treated by his ſucceſſors, oppreſſed and fleeced by Joſeph, brother of Charles VI. now flattered herſelf with the hopes of being delivered from the pretenſions of the German emperors, who, ever ſince Otho I. have imagined themſelves ſucceſſors to the rights of the antient Cæſars; and indeed the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces ſevered from the empire. In their pro-

tocol they give the title of Majeſty to no king whatever.

The elector of Cologn ſtiles himſelf Chancellor of Italy, and the elector of Triers aſſumes the title of Chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they chuſe at Frankfort, is declared King of the Romans, though he has not the ſmalleſt juriſdiction in Rome; and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces ſufficient to compel the payment. Such a number of equivocal rights had been the ſource of all the calamities and ſubductions Italy had ſuſtained for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years. It ſeemed, therefore, probable, that the confuſion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would give to Italy that extenſive liberty of which the people were ſo very ambitious. The new revolution, which every body foreſaw would follow from the extinction of the houſe of Auſtria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman empire; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided betwixt ſeveral princes, all ſo potent, as to find it difficult to acknowledge a ſupreme head, or at leaſt to leave that head poſſeſſed of the ſame authority as his predeceſſors had enjoyed.

It ſeems, therefore, that the inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria could not poſſibly avoid being diſmembered. This inheritance conſiſted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had long been elective, but were rendered hereditary by the Auſtrian princes; of Auſtrian Suabia, called Auſtria Anterior; of the Upper and Lower Auſtria, conquered in the thirteenth century;

century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgaw, the Four Foreſt Towns, the Briſgaw, Friuli, Tirol, the Milanſe, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily, theſe two kingdoms were poſſeſſed by Don Carlos. Maria Thereſa, the eldeſt daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the law of nature, which pointed out her being called to her paternal inheritance, and on the Pragmatic Sanction, by which this law was confirmed, and on the guarantee of ſo many princes.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the ſucceſſion by virtue of the will of Ferdinand, the firſt brother to Charles V. By this will, Ferdinand, in default of male iſſue, named his eldeſt daughter the archduchess Anne, wedded to a duke of Bavaria, heireſs to his dominions. From her the elector Charles was deſcended; and as there were no male heirs left of the houſe of Auſtria, he claimed to inherit in right of his fourth anceſtor.

Rights of a more recent nature were alledged by Auguſtus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony: theſe were the rights of his wife, eldeſt daughter of the emperor Joſeph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If Maria Thereſa looked upon the Pragmatic Sanction as a ſacred and inviolable law, the archduchess, queen of Poland, had another Pragmatic Sanction previouſly regulated in her favour by the father of Joſeph and of Charles. It had been ſettled in 1703, that the daughter of Joſeph ſhould inherit preferably to the daughter of the younger brother Charles VI. in caſe her two brothers ſhould die without male iſſue. After Charles

mounted the imperial throne, he aboliſhed this ſanction; therefore they might ſet that which he had made aſide, after his death. His brother's daughters had been in his power, nor did he marry them till he made them renounce their rights: but a renunciation of ſuch a nature muſt be conſidered as compulſive, and conſequently illegal. On every ſide they pleaded rights of blood, teſtamentary diſpoſitions, family compacts, the laws of Germany, and the law of nations.

The king of Spain extended his pretenſions to the whole ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. a princeſs from whom Philip V. was deſcended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to ſee the houſe of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria. Lewis XV. might have pretended to this ſucceſſion by as juſt a title as any other prince, ſince he was deſcended in a direct line from the eldeſt male branch of the houſe of Auſtria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and likewiſe by the wife of Lewis XIV. but it was his buſineſs rather to act as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor; for by that means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this ſucceſſion, and of the imperial throne, in concert with one half of Europe; whereas, had he entered the liſts as a pretender, he would have had all Europe againſt him. This cauſe of ſo many crowned heads was publiſhed by public memorials in every part of the Chriſtian world; there was not a prince, nor hardly a private perſon, that did

did not intereſt himſelf in the diſpute; and nothing leſs was apprehended than a general war: But how greatly was human policy confounded, when a ſtorm aroſe from a quarter where nobody expected it!

In the beginning of this century, the emperor Leopold, availing himſelf of the right which the German emperors had conſtantly attributed to themſelves of creating kings, erected Ducal Pruſſia into a kingdom in 1701, in favour of Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Pruſſia was only a large deſert; but Frederic William II. its ſecond king, purſued a plan of politics different from moſt of the princes of his time: he ſpent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were incumbered with wood, in building towns, and in filling them with inhabitants: he ſent for families from Suabia and Franconia: he brought above ſixteen thouſand men from Saltzburg, and furniſhed them with all neceſſary implements of labour. In this manner, by forming a new ſtate, and by extraordinary œconomy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind: he laid up conſtantly about ſixty thouſand German crowns, which, in a reign of twenty-eight years, amounted to an immenſe treaſure: what he did not put into his coffers, he ſpent in raiſing and maintaining of fourſcore thouſand men, whom he taught a new kind of diſcipline, tho' he did not employ them in the field: but his ſon, Frederic III. made a proper uſe of his father's preparatives: every body knew that this young prince, having been in diſgrace in his father's reign, had devoted all his leiſure hours

to

to the culture of his mind, and to improving thoſe extraordinary talents with which he had been bleſſed by nature. Thoſe talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private ſubject, the public ſaw and admired; but neither his political nor military abilities were yet perceived; ſo that the houſe of Auſtria entertained no more diſtruſt of him, than of the late king of Pruſſia.

He came to the crown three months before the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria and of the empire was open: he foreſaw the general confuſion; and, upon the emperor's deceaſe, he did not loſe a moment, but marched his army directly into Sileſia, one of the richeſt provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. poſſeſſed in Germany. He laid claim to four duchies, which his anceſtors had formerly held by purchaſes, or by family compacts. His predeceſſors had repeatedly and ſolemnly renounced all pretenſions thereto, becauſe they were not in a condition to make them good; but, as the preſent king had power in his hands, he was reſolved to reclaim them.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, were all now buſy about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria ſolicited France to procure him at leaſt a ſhare of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. He pretended indeed a title to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he durſt not demand the whole by his miniſters. Maria Thereſa, however, the great duke of Tuſcany's ſpouſe, took poſſeſſion immediately of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homages of the ſtates of

Auſtria

Auſtria at Vienna, on the ſeventh of November 1740. Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy, preſented their teſtimonies of allegiance by their deputies. But ſhe particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians by conſenting to take the antient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in 1222, and couched in theſe terms: "If I or any of my ſucceſſors ſhall, at any time whatever, violate your privileges, be it permitted, in virtue of this promiſe, both to you and your deſcendants, to defend yourſelves, without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The greater the averſion which the anceſtors of the archduchеſs-queen had always ſhewn to the performance of ſuch engagements, the more this prudent ſtep endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had ſo often attempted to ſhake off the Auſtrian yoke, embraced that of Maria Thereſa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in ſeditions, quarrels, and civil wars, they ſuddenly began to adore their ſovereign. The queen was not crowned till ſome months after, which ceremony was performed at Preſburg on the 24th of June 1741; yet her authority was not the leſs complete: ſhe had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability which her anceſtors had ſeldom practiſed; and ſhe had laid aſide that ceremonious and faſtidious air, which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them any greater reſpect. Her aunt, the archduchеſs, governeſs of the Netherlands, never admitted any body to eat at her table; the niece admitted to hers all her ladies and officers of diſtinction; the deputies

ties of the ſtates were at liberty freely to addreſs her; ſhe never refuſed audience, nor ſuffered any body to depart from her diſcontented.

Her firſt care was to ſecure to the grand duke her huſband a partnerſhip of her crowns, under the name of co-regent, without diminiſhing her ſovereignty, or violating the pragmatic ſanction. She mentioned it to the ſtates of Auſtria the very day ſhe received their oath, and ſoon after ſhe compaſſed her deſign. This princeſs flattered herſelf in theſe beginnings, that the dignities with which ſhe adorned the prince her huſband, would have ſmoothed his way to the imperial throne; but ſhe had no money, and her troops were greatly diminiſhed and diſperſed in the different parts of her vaſt dominions.

The king of Pruſſia propoſed to her, at firſt, that ſhe ſhould yield the Lower Sileſia to him; and, in that caſe, he offered her his whole credit, his aſſiſtance, his arms, with five millions of French livres, and alſo to guaranty the remainder of her dominions, and to ſettle the imperial crown upon her huſband. The moſt experienced ſtateſmen foreſaw, that if the queen of Hungary refuſed ſuch offers, Germany muſt be thrown into a total confuſion; but the blood of ſo many emperors which flowed thro' the veins of this princeſs, would not ſuffer her even to think of diſmembering her patrimony: ſhe was weak, but intrepid; numbers of Auſtrians, who ſaw only the outward grandeur, but not the imbecility, of the court of Vienna, haughtily pronounced, that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the

empire

empire in ſix months. Even the miniſters of this prince were frighted at the ſound of the Auſtrian name; but the king, who ſaw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the ſtate in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Sileſia in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his ſtandards, *Pro Deo & Patria*; but he ſtruck out *Pro Deo*, ſaying, "That it was improper thus to intermix the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that his diſpute was concerning a province, and not concerning religion." He ordered the Roman eagle in relievo to be fixed on the top of a gilded ſtaff, and borne before his regiment of guards, a ſtep which carried with it the appearance of his being neceſſarily invincible. He harangued his army, endeavouring in every reſpect to reſemble the antient Romans. Entering Sileſia, he made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole province of which they had refuſed him a part; but nothing as yet was decided.

Marſhal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty-four thouſand Auſtrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Pruſſia found himſelf under a neceſſity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz near the river Neiſs. Then it was that the Pruſſian infantry ſhewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, leſs ſtrong by half than the Auſtrian, was entirely broken; the firſt line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be loſt; all the king's baggage was pillaged, and this prince, in danger of being taken, was

carried

carried away by the croud that ſurrounded him: but his ſecond line of infantry ſet every thing again to rights, by that unſhaken diſcipline to which they are ſo well accuſtomed; by their inceſſant fire, which is at leaſt five times repeated in a minute, and by fixing their bayonets to their muſkets in a moment. They gained the victory; and this event became the ſignal of an univerſal combuſtion.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The king of France unites with the kings of Pruſſia and Poland to advance Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the imperial throne: that prince is declared a lieutenant general in the ſervice of France: his election, his ſucceſs, and very rapid loſſes.

WHEN the king of Pruſſia ſeized upon Sileſia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France. It was a miſtake, which is often the caſe when we argue only from probabilities. The king of Pruſſia hazarded a great deal; this was his own acknowledgment: but he foreſaw that France would not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of ſeconding him. It was the apparent intereſt of France to favour her old ally the elector of Bavaria, whoſe father had formerly loſt all by befriending her againſt the houſe of Auſtria. After the battle of Hochſtet, this very Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, then in his infancy, was made priſoner by the Auſtrians, who ſtripped him even of his name of Bavaria. France found her account in avenging him. It ſeemed eaſy to procure for him at one and the ſame time the empire and a part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. This was a ſtep by which the new houſe of Auſtria-Lorrain would be deprived of that ſuperiority which the old one affected to have over the other princes of Europe; it alſo aboliſhed the old rivalſhip ſubſiſting between the dependents of Bourbon and Auſtria; nay, it

was

was doing more than ever Henry IV. or cardinal Richelieu had hoped to compaſs.

This revolution, the foundation of which was not yet laid, was foreſeen in the very beginning by Frederick III. of Pruſſia, on his ſetting out for Sileſia: it is ſo true, that he had not concerted any meaſures with cardinal Fleury, that the marquis de Beaveau, who was then at Berlin, whither he had been ſent to compliment Frederick on his acceſſion in the name of France, knew not, on the firſt motion of the Pruſſian troops, whether they were deſtined againſt France or Auſtria: King Frederick ſaid to him, on the point of his ſetting out, "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will divide." This was the ſole beginning of a negotiation then at a diſtance.

The French miniſtry heſitated for ſome time. Cardinal Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was fearful of ſtaking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic ſanction, to which he had acceded, and authentically guarantied, reſtrained him; yet he might have been encouraged to it by former treaties with Bavaria. It is certain, this war, at which they afterwards ſo warmly inveighed, was loudly demanded by Paris and Verſailles. I heard a man of great diſtinction ſay, "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the houſe of Auſtria, and Cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." Theſe words were carried to the miniſter's ears, and piqued him very ſenſibly; nor did he give up the grand point, until he found it impoſſible longer to oppoſe thoſe who were for carrying it into execution.

cution. About the end of December, the cardinal gave inſtructions to the count de Belleiſle to prepare a plan for negotiating in the empire the means of carrying on a war to fix the elector of Bavaria in the imperial throne, and ſecure to him part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. The count demanded eight days to conſider of it, and then produced his ſcheme, of which he cauſed three copies to be made out, one of which was for the cardinal, another for the depoſit of foreign affairs, and the third for himſelf.

If there could be any dependence on the deſigns of men, never did the execution of any project appear more certain. The count, afterwards duke de Belleiſle, demanded, that before the month of June fifty thouſand French ſhould have paſſed the Rhine, and march towards the Danube. He inſiſted that in this army there ſhould be at leaſt twenty thouſand cavalry. He entered, as was always his cuſtom, into a long detail about the means of marching and ſubſiſting thoſe troops; and repeated in every page, that he would rather do nothing than do things by halves. They had near ſix months to prepare for a revolution, which the king of Pruſſia had already began in the midſt of winter. Saxony ſeemed diſpoſed to join with France and Pruſſia; the king of England, elector of Hanover, was to have been compelled to a neutrality by an army of forty thouſand men in readineſs to enter his German dominions on the ſide of Weſtphalia; while Belleiſle's army was to have ſeconded Saxony, Pruſſia, and Bavaria, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologn

alſo attached himſelf to this intereſt, being that of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector palatine, who ought to have obtained for his heirs the king of Pruſſia's renunciation of his rights to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, and this under the protection of France, was, more than all the reſt, deſirous of ſeeing Bavaria mount the imperial throne. Every thing united to favour his election: he was to be aſſiſted in ſeizing upon Auſtrian Suabia and Bohemia; for the imperial dignity alone would have been worth but little. This alliance was to join Spain, in order to put Don Philip, ſon of Philip V. and nearly related to Lewis XV. into poſſeſſion of Parma and the Milaneſe. In a word, in 1741 they wanted in a part of Europe, as they had done in 1736, to make a partition of the empire. The ſame thing had been meditated by England and Holland, conjunctively with France, ſome time before the death of Charles II. king of Spain.

Marſhal Belleiſle was ſent to the king of Pruſſia's camp at Frankfort, and to Dreſden, to ſettle the vaſt projects which, from the concurrence of ſo many princes, ſeemed infallible. He in every thing agreed with that auguſt monarch, who, writing of him, ſays, "He never ſaw an abler man, whether in council or the field." He went from him into Saxony, and gained there ſuch an aſcendency over the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, that he marched his troops before the ſigning of the treaty. The marſhal negotiated every where in Germany; he was the life and ſoul of that body, which was concerting means of beſtowing empire and hereditary honours upon a prince who

could do nothing of himſelf. France gave at one and the ſame time to the elector of Bavaria money, allies, votes, and armies. He had promiſed twenty-eight thouſand of his own troops, yet could ſcarcely furniſh twelve thouſand, though aſſiſted with French money. The king ſent the army he had promiſed him; and by letters patent created him his general, whom he was about to give as head to the empire.

The elector of Bavaria, thus ſtrengthened, eaſily penetrated into Auſtria, while Maria Thereſa was ſcarcely able to oppoſe the king of Pruſſia. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of Paſſau, an imperial city governed by its biſhop. This place ſeparates the Upper Auſtria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Lintz, the capital of Higher Auſtria, and ſome of his parties ſkirmiſhed within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm ſpread, and threw that city into confuſion; they prepared as quickly as poſſible againſt a ſiege; one whole ſuburb, and a palace bordering upon the fortifications, were entirely deſtroyed; the Danube was covered with veſſels laden with valuable effects, which were removing to places of greater ſecurity. The elector of Bavaria even ſent a ſummons to count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that ballance to which they had ſo long pretended. The ſtates general viewed in ſilence marſhal Maillebois's army, which was then in Weſtphalia; as did alſo the king of England, who was in ſome fears for the ſafety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then reſided. He had raiſed twenty-five thouſand men to ſuccour Maria

Thereſa;

Thereſa; and at the head of this very army, enliſted purpoſely to aſſiſt, he was obliged to abandon her, and ſign a treaty of neutrality. His domeſtics were furniſhed with paſſports for themſelves and their equipages by the French general to carry them to London, whither the king himſelf returned by the way of Weſtphalia and Holland. Not one of the princes, whether within the empire or without, at this time ſupported that Pragmatic Sanction, which ſo many of them had guarantied. Vienna, poorly fortified on that ſide where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Thoſe who were beſt acquainted with Germany, and the ſtate of public affairs, looked upon the taking of Vienna as a certainty; whereby the aſſiſtance which Maria Thereſa might otherwiſe have drawn from the Hungarians, would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims ſettled, and peace reſtored to the empire, and to Europe.

This princeſs ſeemed to grow more and more courageous in proportion as her ruin ſeemed to be inevitable. She had quitted Vienna, and threw herſelf into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and anceſtors had treated with ſo much ſeverity. Having aſſembled the four orders of the ſtate at Preſburg, ſhe appeared in the midſt of them, holding in her arms her eldeſt ſon, who was yet in his cradle, and addreſſing them in Latin, a language in which ſhe expreſſed herſelf perfectly well, ſpoke nearly in theſe words: "Forſaken by my friends, perſecuted by my enemies, attacked by my neareſt relations, I have no reſource but in your

your fidelity, your courage, and my own conſtancy; to your truſt I ſurrender the daughter and ſon of your kings, who from you expect their ſafety." All the palatines, ſoftened, yet animated by this ſhort ſpeech, drew their ſabres, crying out at the ſame inſtant, "Let us die for our king Maria Thereſa." *Pro rege noſtro Maria Thereſa moriamur.* They always give the title of king to their queen; and never, in fact, did princeſs better deſerve that title. They ſhed tears in taking the oath to defend her; her eyes alone were dry: but when ſhe withdrew with her maids of honour, thoſe tears, which the greatneſs of her ſoul had hitherto ſuppreſſed, burſt from her in abundance. She was at that time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the ducheſs of Lorrain, theſe words, "I as yet know not whether I ſhall have a ſingle town left, wherein to be brought to-bed."

In this condition ſhe excited the zeal of the Hungarians; England and Holland rouſed in her behalf, and ſupplied her with money: ſhe correſponded all through the empire; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furniſhed her with ſoldiers.

The whole kingdom of England was warmed in her favour: the Engliſh are not a people who wait to know their ſovereign's opinion before they form theirs. A free gift for that princeſs was propoſed by ſome private perſons. The ducheſs of Marlborough, relict of that duke who had fought for Charles VI. aſſembled the principal ladies of London, whom ſhe induced to advance for this cauſe an hundred

thouſand pounds ſterling, forty thouſand of which ſhe laid down herſelf. The queen of Hungary had the firmneſs to decline accepting of the money thus generouſly offered, and to wait for ſuch ſums as might be granted to her by the nation in parliament aſſembled. It was generally believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have advanced to the ſiege of Vienna. It is the opinion of the king of Pruſſia, that what the enemy fears ſhould always be carried into execution. This ſiege was, however, not undertaken, and the enemy turned off towards Bohemia; perhaps it was becauſe the ſeaſon appeared too far advanced, or becauſe it was intended to preſerve a balance of power between the houſes of Bavaria and Auſtria, by leaving Vienna and Hungary to the one, and the remainder of the German poſſeſſions to the other.

The French army, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and ſtrengthened with twenty thouſand Saxons, marched towards Prague in the month of November 1741; and count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother to the king of Poland, took the place by eſcalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily ſtrength, as well as all his valour and ſweetneſs of temper, was moreover endued with the greateſt talents for war. From his reputation only, he was, by the unanimous voice of the people, elected duke of Courland: but Ruſſia, having deprived him of the benefit of an election, to which he was preſented by a whole province, he conſoled himſelf in the ſervice of France, and the ſocial pleaſures of a nation,

nation, which was not as yet ſufficiently acquainted with his merit*.

To form a proper idea of count Saxe's character, whoſe name will be delivered down to lateſt poſterity, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that being accuſed to the king of Pruſſia at this time of engaging in thoſe petty diſputes, which almoſt always divide the generals of the allied armies, he anſwered the charge in theſe words, addreſſed to general Schmittau: "Thoſe who are acquainted with me, know that it is more my talent to break a lance in the field, than ſpin intrigues in a cloſet."

It was neceſſary that Prague ſhould be taken in a few days, or the enterprize abandoned. They were in want of proviſions; the ſeaſon was far advanced; and the town, though but poorly fortified, could eaſily reſiſt the firſt attacks. General Ogilvy, an Iriſhman by birth, commanded in the place, where he had a garriſon of three thouſand men. The grand duke of Tuſcany marched with an army of thirty thouſand men to its relief, November 25. He was already within five leagues of it, when the ſame night the French and Saxons made an aſſault upon the town. They made two attacks on one ſide, under cover of a deſperate fire from

* The letter written by Maurice on this occaſion to the king his father, who inſiſted upon his relinquiſhing his claim to Courland, notwithſtanding he had been formally elected by the people, reflects equal honour upon his filial duty, his ſpirit, and his magnanimity. At all events he refuſed to abdicate, unleſs his ſubjects would abſolve him from the oath he had taken to protect them; and offered to ſtand the ſhocks of the whole Ruſſian empire, rather than ſuffer the leaſt blemiſh upon his honour.

their artillery, whereby the whole garriſon was drawn thither. In the mean time, count Saxe ſilently applied a ladder to the ramparts of the New Town, in a part very diſtant from the general ſcene of action; and the ladder not being long enough, they were obliged to make up the deficiency with hand-barrows. The firſt man that mounted was Monſ. Chevert, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce: he was followed by marſhal Broglio's eldeſt ſon. They reached the ramparts, and found only one centinel at ſome diſtance; crowds ſoon followed their example, and they made themſelves maſter of the place. The whole garriſon laid down their arms; and Ogilvy, with his three thouſand men, ſurrendered priſoners of war. Count Saxe ſaved the town from being pillaged; and what was very extraordinary, is, that the conquerors and the conquered were mixed together pell-mell for three days: French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, walked the ſtreets in common, without diſtinction, or the ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood.

The elector of Bavaria, who was juſt come to the camp, wrote to the king an account of this ſucceſs in ſuch terms as a general would addreſs to the prince whoſe armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the ſame day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time the grand duke, finding ſubſiſtence fail in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the ſouthern part of the province, and left the command of his army to his brother prince Charles of Lorrain. While theſe things were

were in agitation, the king of Pruſſia made himſelf maſter of Moravia, a province lying between Bohemia and Sileſia; ſo that Maria Thereſa ſeemed every-where loſt: her competitor had been crowned archduke of Auſtria at Lintz: he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague; from whence he went to Frankfort, and there was raiſed to the imperial throne under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had put a negative upon the vote of Bohemia in chuſing an emperor, while that province remained to the queen of Hungary, pretending it was not what a woman had a right to. The elector of Bavaria, now maſter of Prague, might have availed himſelf of it; but being under no neceſſity of ſo doing, ſuffered it to lie dormant.

Marſhal Belleiſle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than the ambaſſador of France: he had managed all the votes, and directed every negotiation: he received all the honours due to the repreſentative of a king, who had given away the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who preſides at the election, gave him the right-hand in his own palace: the ambaſſador paid that compliment to electors only, taking place of all the other princes. His full inſtructions were ſent to the German chancery in French, though it had heretofore required thoſe pieces to be preſented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which aſſumes the title and denomination of the Roman Empire. Charles Albert was elected in the moſt tranquil and ſolemn manner on the 4th of January,

1742. One would have thought him covered with glory, and at the ſummit of happineſs; but the ſcene changed ſoon, and his very elevation rendered him one of the moſt unfortunate princes upon earth.

The fault that had been committed by not providing a ſufficient number of cavalry, began now to be felt. Marſhal Belleiſle lay ſick at Frankfort; and could not beſides, at the ſame time, conduct negotiations, and command an army at a diſtance. A miſunderſtanding began to gain ground among the allies; the Saxons complained much of the Pruſſians; the latter complained of the French; and they preferred complaints in their turn.

Maria Thereſa was principally ſupported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice; by loans in Flanders; but, above all, by the deſperate ardour of her troops, which ſhe aſſembled from all quarters. The French army was deſtroyed by fatigue, ſickneſs, and deſertion: and was with difficulty recruited. The French did not find the ſame fortune as Guſtavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with leſs than ten thouſand men; yet in a ſhort time found his forces encreaſed to thirty thouſand, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced *.

The French army, which, on its entering Bohemia, ſhould have amounted to forty-five thouſand men, conſiſted, on its leaving France,

* The Swediſh army under Guſtavus Adolphus amounted to 26,000 horſe and foot when he firſt landed in Germany.

of

of not more than thirty-two thouſand, and in this number there was but eight thouſand cavalry, whereas there ought to have been twenty thouſand. Every day then weakened the French and ſtrengthened the Auſtrian forces. Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the grand duke, was in the heart of Bohemia at the head of thirty-five thouſand effective men; and every where favoured by the inhabitants. He commenced a defenſive war very ſucceſsfully, keeping the enemy in a ſtate of continual alarm, by cutting off their convoys, and haraſſing them perpetually on every hand with crouds of Huſſars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The Pandours are Sclavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save: they wear a long garment, and in their girdles ſtick ſeveral piſtols, a ſabre, and a poignard. The Talpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a fuſee, two piſtols, and a ſabre. The Croats, called in France *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The huſſars are Hungarian cavalry mounted upon ſmall horſes, which are very light and hardy: they cut off poſts that are weak, and not properly ſupported by cavalry, which was every where the caſe of the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector of Bavaria thought a ſmall number of troops enough to preſerve a vaſt extent of country, which he did not ſuppoſe the empreſs queen in circumſtances to retake. It is eaſy to condemn the operations of war when they are unfortunate; but theſe misfortunes are ſeldom foreſeen: yet, for a long time paſt, Marſhal Belleiſle had foretold them in all his letters from Frankfort.

"They have left troops, ſaid he, in the Upper Auſtria, which will be infallibly cut off." He wrote thus to Monſ. Breteuil, then ſecretary of ſtate in the war-department, the 17th of December, 1741: "I cannot help dwelling on this important ſubject: I aſſure you that the misfortune which I have ſo long foreſeen, will inevitably happen: the firſt ſource of our misfortunes muſt ariſe from the mixture of nations among our ſoldiery, and their being ſcattered." The marſhal falling ſick at Frankfort about the end of November, took immediate care to write to court, that it was neceſſary to ſend another general to take upon him the command of the armies. On the 8th of December, marſhal Broglio, an old officer, bred under marſhal Villars, and celebrated for many brave actions, ſet out for Straſburgh. On his arrival in Bohemia, he found the conquerors embaraſſed with their acquiſitions, and the Auſtrians poſſeſſed of all the poſts in the ſouthern parts of Bohemia. Upper Auſtria was guarded only by fifteen thouſand Bavarians and eight or nine thouſand French. Count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna, appeared ſuddenly in thoſe quarters with garriſons drawn from ſuch towns as he left behind him, the troops recalled from Italy, and twenty thouſand Hungarians. Lieutenant-general count de Segur was then at Lintz, an open town into which the elector of Bavaria had thrown about eight thouſand men *. General

* Lintz is far from being an open town: it is the capital of Higher Auſtria, defended on the one ſide by the Danube, and on the other by a ſtrong citadel, in which the emperors have ſometimes fought refuge againſt the Turks. Geographers take it to be the antient *Geſodunum*.

Khevenhuller

Khevenhuller advanced with thirty thouſand fighting men under command of the grand duke. Segur's only reſource was then to retire; but the elector had commanded him to defend a poſt, which it was not poſſible for him to maintain. He baricadoed the place, and prepared to reſiſt the moſt vigorous aſſaults, hoping, on the other hand, that ſome diverſion would be made by the Bavarians; but the latter were defeated and diſperſed; and, inſtead of ſuccouring Lintz, they loſt Scharding.

The grand duke now appeared in perſon before Lintz, and ſummoned the French to ſurrender priſoners of war: on their refuſal, he cauſed his troops to enter the place ſword in hand, and burned down a part of one of his own towns, to bury the French in its ruins. Monſ. Duchatel, a lieutenant-general, who died lately with the higheſt character for valour, probity, and ſpirit, came to treat with him on the part of the beſieged. The grand duke inſiſted on their ſurrendering priſoners of war. "Well then," ſaid Duchatel, "ſince this is your reſolution, begin again to burn the town, and we will begin to fire." The prince was ſoftened, and allowed them to retire with the honours of war, on condition they did not ſerve again for a year.

The Hungarians, after this firſt ſucceſs, immediately advanced, and retook Paſſau. They ſpread themſelves over Bavaria on the Auſtrian ſide; while the Auſtrians entered it on the ſide of Tirol, and laid all waſte from one end to the other. A partizan named Mentzel, known only by his brutality and depredations,

appeared ſuddenly before Munich with his huſſars, and the capital of Bavaria ſurrendered to his ſummons. All theſe events followed rapidly each other, while the French prepared at Frankfort for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. In ſhort, the very day he was elected emperor, he received the account of the loſs of Lintz; and was ſoon convinced, that he was left without capital or dominion.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The relation of the emperor Charles VIIth's misfortunes continued. The battle of Sahay. The French are forſaken by the Pruſſians, and afterwards by the Saxons. Marſhal Maillebois' army make a fruitleſs march into Bohemia. Marſhal Belleiſle preſerves the army at Prague.

FORTUNE now declared herſelf as much an enemy to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia, as in Upper Auſtria and Bavaria: the aſpect of things was the more melancholy in three months time, becauſe his affairs in Bohemia looked well; and, from the ſuperiority of his allies, there was great probability of their being able to reſtore him to his dominions; for on the one ſide count Saxe had taken Egra, and thus the two extreme boundaries of Bohemia were maintained; on the other, Prince Charles, having given battle to the king of Pruſſia near Czaſlaw in the heart of Bohemia, into which he had penetrated with his army, was totally defeated.

The Saxons were alſo in a condition to ſecond the king, and to aſſiſt in preſerving the conqueſts which had been made for the common cauſe by the French armies conjunctly with them. In the midſt of theſe apparent advantages, marſhal Belleiſle, being recovered from his indiſpoſition, haſtened to the French army at Frankfort, commanded by marſhal Broglio, and encountered the Auſtrians at Sahay, near Frauemberg, on the road to Prague. Theſe

two generals differed in opinion, but were reunited by their zeal for the ſervice. They lay that night on a mattraſs, and on the ſucceeding day fought one of the moſt ſharp and glorious battles that had been known during the whole war, if glory may be ſaid to be annexed to ſmall events, happily conducted, and boldly ſupported, as well as to more deciſive actions. Six hundred carabineers and three hundred dragoons, led by the marquis de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuſe, attacked and routed a body of two thouſand five hundred cuiraſſiers, commanded by prince Lobkowitz, though they were advantageouſly poſted, and made a gallant defence. The duke de Chevreuſe was wounded in three places. The duke de Broglio and all the officers gave to the ſoldiery a noble example, particularly M. de Maleſieux, major of the carabineers, who drew them up in a manner that contributed much to the ſucceſs of the day. The count de Berenger, at the head of the brigade of Navarre, did very ſignal ſervice. This was not a great battle, but rather a trial of ſkill between the French and the Auſtrian generals, in which each combatant ſhewed prodigies of valour; and if it could not give great ſuperiority to the French arms, it might at leaſt have enhanced their reputation: but it was to no purpoſe; and they ſhould have foreſeen, that, notwithſtanding all their apparent ſucceſs, the pit was dug into which they were ready to fall.

The king of Pruſſia, diſſatisfied with marſhal Broglio, wrote to him a very haughty letter after the battle of Czaſlaw; and added, with his own hand, this poſtſcript: "I am quit with my allies; for my troops have juſt obtained a complete

a complete victory: it is your duty to make the beſt uſe of it out of hand, otherwiſe you may be reſponſible for it to YOUR allies."

It is ſcarcely poſſible to comprehend what he means by thoſe words: "I am quit with MY allies." Marſhal Broglio, in writing home to the prime-miniſter, obſerves, that the king of Pruſſia might have expreſſed himſelf more obligingly; but that he did not underſtand French: he underſtood it well, and his meaning was clear.

This monarch remained inactive after his victory at Czaſlaw, and they could not conceive what his conduct imported. No advantages were reaped from the little affair at Sahay, and at length ſubſiſtence began to fail. There are inſtances in which the too great diſtance of a magazine, or the ſcarcity of one article of proviſions, may occaſion the loſs of a kingdom. The arrival of the recruits expected from France was too late. The troops under marſhal Broglio were ſo much diminiſhed, that only twelve thouſand men could be muſtered at a review of forty-ſix battalions, which ought to have amounted to thirty thouſand men.

The reſt of the army was ſcattered; while prince Charles of Lorrain, and prince Lobkowitz, reunited their forces. To add to the misfortune, there was but little agreement between the French generals, as well as between thoſe of the allies. Had the Pruſſians acted conjunctly with the French and Saxons, it is certain, that being poſſeſſed of Prague, Egra, and all the Northern Bohemia, victorious at Czaſlaw and Sahay, they might have remained maſters of Bohemia. Marſhal Belleiſle, to whom

whom the king of Pruſſia wrote daily with the moſt entire confidence, and rather like a friend than a king, waited upon that monarch in his camp, on the 5th of June, in order to concert with him what was to be done for the common cauſe. The king ſpoke thus to him: "I give you warning that prince Charles is advancing towards marſhal Broglio; and that if proper advantages are not drawn from the affair at Sahay, I ſhall make a ſeparate peace for myſelf." In a word, a treaty between him and the queen of Hungary had been for near a year on the point of concluſion; the negotiations had been renewed at Breſlau and the Hague; the articles were at length ſettled, and nothing was wanting but to ſign them. The only and beſt method of preſerving an ally, is to be always ſtrong enough to do without him; but marſhal Broglio's army was ſo far from being in this happy ſituation, that it daily decreaſed by ſickneſs and deſertion.

They were forced to abandon all their poſts, one after another; they daily loſt their proviſions and ammunition, of which part was pillaged by our own ſoldiers, and part carried off by the enemy. Prince Charles paſſed the Moldaw, in purſuit of a body of troops under monſieur d'Aubigné, who retreated in diſorder; he followed the French to Thein, to Piſeck, and from Piſeck to Pilſen, and thence to Beraun: theſe retreats coſt the French at leaſt as many men as a battle, and beſides contributed to diſpirit the troops. They were perpetually haraſſed in their precipitate marches by the huſſars, their baggage pillaged, and every Frenchman that chanced to ſtray from his corps

corps was maſſacred without mercy. During this diſorder of ſo many detached bodies every where flying before the enemy, marſhal Broglio ſaved his army by making a reſolute ſtand againſt the army of prince Charles, with about ten thouſand men, by putting a deep river between them, ſtealing a march, and, at length, having collected all his forces, retiring towards Prague. This manœuvre was admirable, but did not at all reſtore his affairs. During the time that he was making ſo many efforts to prevent his being cut off by the united armies of prince Charles of Lorrain and prince Lobkowitz, he was abandoned by the king of Pruſſia. The firſt diſgraces of the French arms in Bavaria and Bohemia gave riſe to the treaty, the latter occaſioned its being ſigned on the 11th of June 1742. The king of Pruſſia had, at a very proper opportunity, taken up arms to make an eaſy conqueſt of Sileſia; and he was now willing, at as proper a time, to lay them down, in order to keep the largeſt and richeſt part of that province as far as the river Neiſs.

The queen of Hungary, who, fifteen months before, might have prevented the war, and put the imperial crown upon the head of her huſband, beſides being ſupplied with troops and money at the king of Pruſſia's expence, by only giving up a part of that province, now thought herſelf very happy in ceding to Pruſſia much more than he had then demanded, and got nothing in return. She alſo parted with the county of Glatz to him; and if ſhe did not ſecure him as an ally, ſhe was, however, for ſome time freed from a formidable opponent.

The

The emperor was abandoned by this treaty, and not the ſlighteſt mention made of France. Saxony, by one of the articles of peace, was to be comprized therein, provided that their forces ſeparated from the French within ſixteen days, reckoning from the time of ſigning the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew long before the ſtipulated term. The French remained alone the protectors of the emperor, and were the only troops expoſed to danger. His only aſylum was Frankfort, where he had been crowned. In vain did marſhal Belleiſle, though in a bad ſtate of health, poſt from the Pruſſian camp to the court of Dreſden; in vain did marſhal Broglio aſſemble his troops, conſiderably recruited: there was but little ſubordination in his army; they ſaw themſelves in a ſtrange country, without allies or aſſiſtance; they had prince Charles to contend with, who commanded a ſuperior army, and was beloved by his people. The advantage of ſpeaking the language of the country in which a war is carried on is alſo very great; they receive quicker intelligence, and oftener. The national troops are favoured always, and foreigners betrayed. There was alſo another inconvenience, which is alone ſufficient to deſtroy an army, and even a ſtate. Marſhal Belleiſle, who arrived about the end of June from Dreſden at Prague, had a commiſſion as general in Bohemia; and marſhal Broglio, who, at Prague, had under him part of the battalions deſtined for Bavaria, inſiſted on keeping the chief command, as his right, being the oldeſt marſhal. Thus here were two generals, and the principal officers did

did not know which they were to obey. Cardinal Fleury continued marſhal Belleiſle in the command. The king's ſervice did not, however, ſuffer from things remaining in this dangerous and doubtful ſituation, which is yet more rare than this diviſion of authority.

The French, deſerted as they were, ſaw themſelves ſtill poſſeſſed of the moſt important place of all their conqueſts. But while Bohemia was the theatre of theſe revolutions, the Hungarians lived in the capital of Bavaria, of which they were maſters, with all the licentiouſneſs and cruelty of an unbridled ſoldiery. The town was ranſomed; yet the neighbouring villages were ravaged, and the people reduced to a ſtate of deſperation. The king of France did not abandon the emperor; he maintained him in poſſeſſion of Prague and Egra; the duke of Harcourt, with fifteen thouſand men, advanced to ſuccour Bohemia; this diverſion proved, for a very ſhort while, the deliverance of Munich.

The Auſtrian general Khevenhuller having drawn together his forces, marched out of Munich, even ſo ſoon as the month of April. The inhabitants, who were highly incenſed againſt them, roſe upon and ſlew ſeveral of them at the very inſtant of their quitting the place; then ſhut the gates, though it was almoſt an open town, and entrenched themſelves. But, in a few days afterwards, they were obliged to ſurrender for the ſecond time, and to give up their arms. This coſt ſeveral of the citizens their lives, who were ſlain by the Pandours; others ſaved themſelves by ſacrificing part of their private property. The Bavarian troops were

were always beaten; the duke of Harcourt, with great difficulty, maintained himſelf on the banks of the Danube, againſt a ſuperior enemy. The eyes of all Europe were now turned upon Prague; the two French marſhals being reinforced, had got together in the town, or under the walls, after ſo many diſaſters, twenty-eight thouſand men. June 27, 1742, prince Charles of Lorrain appeared before the place, with forty-five thouſand men, beſides eighteen thouſand Hungarians under general Feſtititz, who advanced to him from Sileſia, where they had been before employed, and whom the peace with the king of Pruſſia left at liberty to march wherever their ſovereign's ſervice required.

An army of ſixty thouſand fighting men had never before been ſeen laying ſiege to one of twenty-eight thouſand; but the more numerous the garriſon, and the more populous the town, the greater reaſon was there to expect that proviſions and ammunition ſhould fail. The queen left nothing undone which ſhe thought might contribute to the retaking of her capital. She gave all the horſes in her ſtable to draw the artillery and ſtores: her example was followed by her nobles, and they paid the waggoners for theirs in ready money. The hope of this court ſeemed to riſe in proportion as ſhe was exhauſted.

The queen had made up an Amazonian dreſs, in which ſhe propoſed to enter Prague on horſe-back, at the head of her victorious army; nay, ſo ſure were they through all her dominions, that Prague muſt in a ſhort time be taken, that an Auſtrian general in the Low Countries ſent a ſervant from Bruſſels to Prague,

on

on purpoſe that he might bring him the earlieſt account of the ſurrender of the place.

The French miniſter ordered marſhal Belleiſle to offer to evacuate the place to the Auſtrians, provided that all the French troops in Bohemia were permitted to withdraw; and that, on the other hand, all the Auſtrian troops ſhould retire out of Bavaria. This propoſition ſeemed the preliminary of a general peace: but it was far from being agreed to by the beſiegers; for at their ſecond conference, marſhal Konigſegg declared to marſhal Belleiſle, that the queen his miſtreſs abſolutely hoped to make the whole French army priſoners of war. In Prague every thing began to fail but courage: about the end of July meat ſold there for four livres a pound; horſe-fleſh was eaten at the very beſt tables; and, thro' ſcarcity of forage, they were forced to kill or abandon upwards of fourteen thouſand horſes to the enemy. The dukes of Biron, Chevreuſe, Luxemburgh, Boufflers, Fleury, count Clermont de Tonnere, brigadier general of horſe, M. de Sechelles, intendant of the army, ſent their plate to the mint of Prague to be coined for the ſubſiſtence of the officers and ſoldiers.

It was the unhappy fate of the French at Prague to find themſelves far diſtant from their own country, among a people to whoſe language they were ſtrangers, and by whom they were hated; to be expoſed to every kind of neceſſity, without any certainty of aſſiſtance, and to have no other ſubject of converſation than paſt miſtakes and preſent dangers. One hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty-ſix mortars, were fired upon their entrenchments; but the

the Auſtrians, not having one good engineer among them, their works were but indifferently conducted; the trenches were too long and too large, and the French reaped ſome advantages from their errors; they made daily ſallies, but the moſt memorable was that of the 22d of Auguſt: it was in reality a battle. Twelve thouſand of the beſieged attacked the beſiegers, carried a battery of cannon, made two hundred priſoners, filled up the works, took general Monty, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded two thouſand. In this engagement, the duke of Biron, the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, and the prince de Beauveau, were wounded. The marquis de Teſſé, firſt equery to the queen, and his lieutenant colonel, were killed near each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, the marquis de Molac, colonel of Berry, loſt their lives at the ſame time.

This memorable action was dearly purchaſed, but threw the Auſtrians into ſuch aſtoniſhment that they dared not afterwards carry on any of their feeble works, which ſcarcely deſerved to be ſtiled fortifications: they contented themſelves with firing ineffectually from their batteries, but made no breach. The place might rather be ſaid to be inveſted than beſieged; yet it was apparent that in the end the entire loſs of the French both in Prague and Egra muſt be inevitable: there was but one way to relieve them, which was to ſend to their ſuccour that army of about forty thouſand men, which, under the command of marſhal Maillebois, had obliged the king of England to ſign an apparent neutrality,

neutrality, and at the ſame time awed both Holland and Hanover: but this army was about two hundred leagues from Prague. This expedient was propoſed by the marquis de Fenelon, ambaſſador in Holland. It had its inconveniences, but was not yet without its advantages. France can eaſily raiſe and ſubſiſt three hundred thouſand men for ten years, without being drained, yet now there were ſcarce twenty thouſand men in the heart of that kingdom; ſo that they were in the moſt perplexed ſituation. They had, at different intervals, ſent into Germany the better part of two hundred and twelve ſquadrons, and one hundred and ſeventeen battalions, and theſe had been from time to time recruited: theſe troops, divided in Prague, Egra, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, were above half waſted away. Count Saxe, who at that time commanded in Germany, wrote word to court, that he had not an hundred and fifty men left to a battalion.

In order to ſuccour and diſengage theſe diſperſed, weakened, and almoſt annihilated armies, it was debated to march towards the complete and flouriſhing army of marſhal Maillebois, compoſed of forty-one battalions and ſixty-five ſquadrons, three thouſand Palatines, three thouſand Heſſians, and three independent companies of foot and two of dragoons. It was obvious, that if all theſe forces united had acted with unanimity, and been aſſiſted by Pruſſia and Saxony, they muſt have in every thing ſucceeded. If marſhal Maillebois had advanced with his army along the banks of the Rhine to penetrate into Bohemia, he had left France unguarded; ſo that even the Dutch might have become

become formidable, and harraſſed the frontiers with forty thouſand men. The oldeſt and ableſt generals were conſulted upon this head. Marſhal de Puiſegur repreſented the difficulties and dangers of the proceeding, all which M. Noailles admitted; but yet inſiſted on the neceſſity of it. Marſhal d'Aſfeldt was alſo of the ſame opinion; and the king determined upon it, however hazardous, becauſe neceſſary, convinced that great undertakings cannot be executed without riſking great loſſes. But the route and manner in which this army was to be conducted ſtill embaraſſed them extremely.

The emperor Charles would have been glad that they were employed in his electoral dominions, where he himſelf had commanded them. He repreſented in writing, that, by delivering Bavaria, Prague would be ſet free; the ſiege of which the Auſtrians muſt infallibly raiſe, as ſoon as this army ſhould reach the banks of the Danube: but the French miniſtry could never think of putting their only reſource into the hands of an emperor, who had been ſo little able to defend himſelf. Cardinal Fleury wrote to diſſuade him from it, in his letter dated Auguſt the 19th. The only reaſon which he alleges, is couched in theſe terms: "Would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies, without an equipage ſuited to his dignity?" This was a ſtrange reaſon, and was far from correſponding with the king of France's allowing ſix millions yearly to his imperial majeſty. Marſhal Maillebois's inclination was to march his army to the ſuccour of Bohemia, becauſe he there expected to find greater plenty of proviſions than on the barren defiles of Bohemia.

Marſhal de Puiſegur, ſeeing it was abſolutely neceſſary that this army ſhould march, thought their direction at leaſt ought to be ſuited to the opinion of marſhal Maillebois: but the favourite object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The intention of the cardinal was, that this auxiliary army ſhould inſpire with ſpirit the reſt of the king's troops, while, in the mean time, he might try every method of making peace.

He felt the pulſe of George II. whom he had, the preceding year, compelled to remain neuter in a cauſe which the Engliſh had much at heart. He had ſome hopes from this negotiation; but the time for it was elapſed. The celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, who, in England, had guided the helm under the kings George I. and II. had been obliged, by the clamours of the people, to reſign his employments, becauſe he was of a pacific diſpoſition. His greateſt enemies agree, that never miniſter had better ſupported thoſe great trading companies, which are the baſis of the Engliſh credit; and none knew the art of managing the parliament better: but his beſt friends cannot deny, that he had applied the treaſure of the nation to ſecuring a conſtant majority in parliament, which no miniſter had ever done before him: he made no ſecret of this himſelf; and the author of theſe memoirs has heard him ſay, "I am maſter of a drug that will effectually correct all evil humours: it is ſold only at my ſhop." Theſe words, which convey no idea either of wit or elevated ſtile, are expreſſive of his character. War had never been his taſte: he always thought it would be the period of his power, "I can anſwer for it, ſaid he, that I can govern

the

the parliament in time of peace: I cannot undertake to do ſo in time of war." Cardinal Fleury had often taken advantage of his timidity, and thereby preſerved the ſuperiority in negotiating. This was laid to Walpole's charge by his enemies: inceſſant were the complaints ſtill made againſt him for having ſo long delayed to declare war againſt Spain. To endeavour preſerving peace to a trading nation is ſurely a ſtrange ſort of crime.

His enemies were not only the Tories, who always were directly oppoſite to the Whigs, but a conjunction of both, equally diſcontented, becauſe they choſe to be ſo *. This faction was denominated *the country party*; a kind of diviſion not unlike that which has almoſt always ſubſiſted in Poland, and been lately ſet on foot in Sweden; for in all countries jealouſies and complaints are raiſed againſt the miniſtry; and if, in abſolute monarchies, they evaporate into empty murmurs, yet, in mixed governments, they become real factions. The country party complained highly, that George II. had, by his treaty of neutrality, ſacrificed the glory of Great Britain to the preſervation of Hanover †, and laid the whole blame upon Walpole the then miniſter, who had no ſhare in this neceſſary,

* Had M. de Voltaire underſtood the nature of this oppoſition as well as he pretends to underſtand it, he would have aſſigned a more ſubſtantial reaſon; which, indeed, was no other than a ſenſe of national grievances, that had ariſen from a corrupt ad——ſt——.

† They complained that ever ſince the acceſſion of George I. the intereſts of England had been ſacrificed to thoſe of H——. But their loudeſt complaints were founded on the miniſter's paſſive behaviour, with reſpect to the Spaniſh depredations.

unpremeditated

unpremeditated treaty, which was entered into only to be broke. Long before this treaty they had attacked him in parliament. Mr. Sandys, then a member of the houſe of commons, told him openly, on the 23d of February 1741, "Get yourſelf ready, for I ſhall impeach you in three days." "I accept the challenge, anſwered he, provided we fight honourably;" and, at the ſame time, repeated this line from Horace:

Nil conſcire ſibi, nulla paleſcere culpa?

On the very day fixed, his accuſer moved the houſe of commons to petition the king to remove Sir Robert Walpole for ever from his council and preſence: at the ſame time, a motion of a ſimilar nature was made by Lord Carteret in the houſe of peers. The queſtion was put, and debated in each houſe till midnight. Never was there a piece of more manifeſt injuſtice than this of endeavouring to bring a man to puniſhment, before there were proofs that he had deſerved it. Yet that which does not always happen, was at this time the caſe: the juſteſt party carried it in both houſes, and Walpole as yet kept his ground*. But the ſeven years, during which the Engliſh houſe of commons ſubſiſted, being now at an end, and new repreſentatives choſen, whereby the country party was conſiderably ſtrengthened, the miniſter, who had for twenty years ſupported himſelf againſt ſo many enemies, found it time for him to retire. The king created him a

* For how long time? the motion was made in the latter end of February, and Sir Robert made his retreat by the middle of the next month.

peer of Great Britain, under the title of Earl of Orford; and three days afterwards he reſigned all his employments. His enemies ſtill proceeded againſt him legally: they inſiſted upon his accounting for thirty millions of French livres, ſaid to have been expended in ſecret ſervices during the term of ten years; and in this ſum were included one million two hundred thouſand livres, ſaid to have been given to the political writers, and other perſons who had employed their pens in favour of the miniſtry. The king, provoked at this accuſation, evaded it by adjourning the parliament*; that is, ſuſpended its ſitting for ſome time by virtue of his royal prerogative.

That very lord Carteret who had accuſed Walpole in the houſe of peers, was now in the higheſt credit: he was employed by the king to convince the people he was in reality as much inclined to war as they were: thus he favoured their paſſions to ſtrengthen his government.

Lord Carteret had been formerly ſecretary of ſtate, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland: he was one of the moſt learned men in England, ſpoke ſeveral of the living languages fluently, but more particularly French and Spaniſh: he was bold and artful, active, indefatigable, and occaſionally prodigal of public money: he was as much diſpoſed, through taſte and inclination, to war, as Walpole had been to peace: he did not ſucceed this miniſter in his poſt, which was that of high-treaſurer under a different deno-

* The progreſs of the inquiry was ſtopped by the apoſtacy of thoſe who had been moſt clamorous in the oppoſition to Sir R——t's adminiſtration.

mination;

mination; but reſumed his former employment of ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department; and was in higher eſtimation than the now earl of Orford had ever been *.

The cardinal made him ſome overtures for an accommodation, and even went ſo far as to propoſe that he ſhould be the mediator; but lord Carteret only anſwered by engaging the parliament to raiſe ſupplies, to enable the king to levy troops; to take into his pay thoſe of Hanover; to hire forces from Denmark and Heſſe, who are always ready to ſell their men to either ſide; to augment the queen of Hungary's ſubſidies; to purchaſe the alliance of Sardinia; to conduct a conſpiracy at Naples; and to ſend fleets into the Mediterranean and America: he alſo propoſed to procure for the king of England in Germany the ceſſion in full property of the biſhoprics of Oſnabrug and Hildeſheim; and, in fine, to make his maſter arbitrator in both hemiſpheres.

While, on the one hand, the cardinal thus addreſſed the Britiſh court, whoſe tone was very imperious, he applied, on the other, to the general who beſieged Prague: he wrote a letter, dated July 11, to field-marſhal Konigſeck, and it was delivered to him by Marſhal Belleiſle, in which he excuſes himſelf from having conſented to the preſent war; and ſays he had been hurried out of his own meaſures. "Many people," ſuch are his own words, "know how firmly I

* This ſurely was not the caſe. No miniſter ſince the revolution had equalled Sir Robert in power and influence. As to lord C——t, his authority was ſo ill eſtabliſhed, that in a few years after this period he was compelled to reſign by his ſubordinates in the ad————n.

oppoſed the reſolutions we have taken; and that I was as it were compelled to acquieſce with them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that paſſed, not to gueſs at the man who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league very contrary to my liking, and my principles." The queen of Hungary only anſwered by cauſing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was eaſy to ſee the ill effects this letter muſt have produced. In the firſt place, he threw evidently the whole blame of the war upon the very general who was commiſſioned to negotiate with count Konigſeck; and to render his perſon odious, was not the way to make his negotiation ſucceſsful: ſecondly, it plainly acknowledged a weakneſs in the miniſtry; and he muſt have a very ſlender knowledge of mankind, who could not foreſee advantage would be taken of this weakneſs; that it would inſpire the allies of France with indifference, and give her enemies more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a ſecond, in which he complains of this publication to the Auſtrian general; and ſays, "He ſhall not hereafter be ſo forward in writing to him." This ſecond letter did him more hurt than the firſt: he diſavowed them both in the public papers; and this diſavowal, whereby no-body was deceived, crowned all thoſe imprudent proceedings, which leſs ſevere judges will be apt to excuſe in an old man, aged 87, and perplexed with a ſeries of ill ſucceſs. At length the emperor offered propoſals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly referred to ſeculariſing the two biſhoprics above-mentioned in favour of Hanover. The Engliſh

miniſter did not look upon the emperor's interpoſition in the leaſt neceſſary towards obtaining theſe biſhoprics. His propoſals were inſulted by being made public. The emperor was under a neceſſity of diſavowing his offers of a peace, as Fleury had been compelled to diſown the war.

The diſpute now grew warmer than ever: France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, tho' principals in fact, ſtrove to hold the balance of Europe ſword in hand. In ſpring, 1742, the court of England marched into Flanders ſixteen thouſand Engliſh troops, as many Hanoverians, and ſix thouſand Heſſians, which, united to about fifteen thouſand Auſtrians, made up a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stair, an officer who had been formerly bred under the great duke of Marlborough, and who in 1715 had been ambaſſador to France.

England endeavoured, before ſhe ſhould ſtrike a blow, to engage Holland to take part in the diſpute; but the ſtates general rigidly adhered to their treaty, which obliged them only to ſupply the queen of Hungary with money: nothing could induce them, at this time, to furniſh troops. Holland was divided into two parties; one was for preſerving peace, the other breathed nothing but war. There was, however, a third, as yet but little known, who wiſhed for a change in the government by advancing a ſtadtholder; but this party, though acquiring ſtrength daily, did not dare openly to declare itſelf before the other two. The love of liberty ſtill prevailed over the obligations they had to the blood of the Naſſaus, and over the intrigues of

the prince of Orange. Theſe principles, this diviſion of people's minds, that dilatorineſs common to all republics when their danger is not very preſſing; all theſe reaſons united to prevent the Dutch from joining their forces to thoſe of the queen of Hungary and king of Great Britain.

The parties which divided the republic ſeemed rather to ariſe from difference in opinion, than influence in faction. That turbulent ſpirit, which, in circumſtances not very diſſimilar, had excited the people to maſſacre the De Witts, ſeemed no longer to ſubſiſt: the grandſon of the penſionary De Witt, as averſe to war as he was, went quietly on foot to council. They never had one tumultuous debate; but then they had no one fixed project; and when the ſtates had taken the reſolution to augment their forces at all hazards with twenty thouſand men, not one of the regency as yet knew whether or no they were determined for war.

Lord Carteret arrived at the Hague to forward this meaſure: lord Stair, who commanded the Engliſh army at Bruſſels, alſo ſet out for that place, to influence the Dutch in the ſame cauſe: the duke d'Aremberg, not leſs eager than theſe, added his vague ſolicitations. Lord Stair was ſtrong enough to penetrate, without their aſſiſtance, into France: his army, including the Auſtrians, amounted to eighty thouſand fighting men, with which his intention was to have ſeized upon Dunkirk; the fortifications of which were very weak on the land ſide, owing to the ſandy nature of the ſoil. It is certain that France was in pain for this town; for the fortifications of its harbour, according to the

loud

loud and inceſſant repreſentations of the Engliſh at the Hague, had been reſtored; and they cried out for vengeance on account of this pretended infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. Marſhal de Puiſegur adviſed cardinal Fleury to ſequeſter the place into the hands of the Dutch, until a peace was concluded: a propoſal ſo frank, at the ſame time that it was very artful, ought to have engaged the Dutch to act as mediators, and never to have declared themſelves enemies to France.

This propoſal was made to them by the marquis de Fenelon; but the Engliſh party, tho' it had not ſufficient authority to force Holland into a war, had yet weight enough to hinder them from accepting of an honour, whereby they muſt have been neceſſarily obliged to remain neuter. In the mean time, theſe things could not have hindered the allied army at Bruſſels from entering France: but the king of England wanted to temporiſe, and to wait the abſolute determination of Holland; which was one of the greateſt miſtakes that had been made during the war. I was myſelf a witneſs of the aſtoniſhment and grief of lord Stair, who ſaid the king his maſter had miſſed an opportunity, which would never offer itſelf again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or on the Rhine. The general attention was fixed upon Bohemia. The marſhals Broglio and Belleiſle were ſtill maſters of Prague, and ſtill beſieged. Marſhal de Maillebois's army marched through Weſtphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, to their aſſiſtance. Prince Charles, on receiving the news of this march,

turned the ſiege of Prague into a blockade, and haſtened to the defence of Bohemia.

It was about this time that a partizan named Trenk, at the head of a number of Pandours, Talpaſhes, and Croats, ſeized upon Chamb, a little town on the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, which ſtill held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the ſword; and after having abandoned the place to be pillaged, and appropriated to himſelf three hundred thouſand florins, which had been therein depoſited, he reduced the town to aſhes. This ſame banditti meeting with a convoy of ſick French, guarded by a few ſoldiers, maſſacred both ſoldiers and ſick, without diſtinction. During the whole war, the Hungarian irregulars behaved every-where with the ſame ſort of ſavage ferocity.

All France dreaded the ſame fate for both Prague and Egra; but they had great hopes from the army of marſhal Maillebois. The news of the ſiege of the former being raiſed, and turned into a blockade, gave new ſpirits to the court of Frankfort. The emperor enjoyed a tranſitory ſatisfaction from being preſented, by the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, with ſome ſtandards taken from the Auſtrians in the different ſallies made from the place, which were indeed rather ſo many real battles, and in which that prince had particularly ſignalized himſelf. At length this auxiliary army arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia about the beginning of September: every thing hitherto had been happily conducted: count Saxe was to join this army with the body

he

he commanded in Bavaria, which did not really amount to more than twenty-ſeven thin battalions and thirty ſquadrons; but theſe were a conſiderable addition to the new army. Count Saxe, who had already the character of an officer who let no opportunity that offered ſlip him, had juſt eſcaped from Bavaria, where count Khevenhuller had held him, as it were, ſhut up; and, by a dexterous march, was advancing towards the frontiers of Bohemia on the one hand, while Broglio approached them on the other.

The duke de Harcourt, with a detachment from count de Saxe's troops, had already taken the little town of Plan, on the weſtern extremity of Bohemia, and made therein four hundred priſoners of war. Count de Saxe, after having evacuated Plan, and taken another poſt called Elnbogen, joined the grand army. They were ſoon after in ſight of the Auſtrians, and might have given them battle; but it was a hazardous ſtep; for, had they been beaten, they had neither retreat nor certainty of ſubſiſtence. The miniſter had written twice in theſe terms to M. Maillebois: "Avoid hazarding the honour of the king's army; and come to no engagement, the ſucceſs of which can be in the leaſt doubtful."

There was not only an impoſſibility of coming to an action with abſolute certainty of ſucceſs; but alſo, the enemy having plundered a magazine, the difficulty of obtaining ſubſiſtence daily encreaſed. There was an intention of opening a road towards Prague, by the way of Caden, on the river Eger, and leaving Egra and Elnbogen behind them: were they once poſted at Caden,

the road to Prague ſeemed free, and proviſions might have been eaſily received from Saxony. Moreover, marſhal Broglio had poſted the marquis d'Armentieres with ſome troops at Leutmeritz. Leutmeritz is a ſmall town, lying half way between Caden and Prague; and here the Eger falls into the Elbe. Every thing depended upon the poſt of Caden; and at Paris this important military operation exhauſted all their conjectures and remarks. Never was the conduct of generals cenſured with more precipitation and ſeverity; and it has ever ſince been queſtioned, whether or no the troops were ever at Caden.

I here preſent you with a detail of the fact, as it has been inconteſtibly declared by the general himſelf. It may, perhaps, be of little conſequence to poſterity: at preſent, however, it is intereſting. October the 22d count Saxe detached ſome troops towards Caden, to break down the bridge upon the Eger, over which the enemy might have paſſed. One independent company had already entered the place, and broke down the bridge: the Auſtrians came up, almoſt in the ſame inſtant, repaired the bridge, and made themſelves maſters of the town. Thus was all communication cut off between the armies of marſhal Broglio and M. Maillebois. The latter could receive no accounts from Leutmeritz; and the only road to Caden led through a defile, which it ſeemed impoſſible to penetrate. Bohemia is ſurrounded by a chain of craggy mountains, through which there are only ſome narrow paſſes or defiles, in which an hundred men may put a whole army to a ſtand. They had only bread enough left to laſt till the

24th of October; ſo that M. Maillebois was obliged to reduce the ſoldiers to half allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat a-piece. They attempted to paſs the defile of Caden; but found it impracticable to bring up the artillery. The waggoners deſerted: their places were ſupplied by ſoldiers; but their progreſs was not in the leaſt quickened. Diſcontent, want of diſcipline, miſunderſtanding, deſertion, every thing conſpired againſt their march.

A council of war was held on the 17th of October, and all the general officers declared for retreating: count d'Etrées, who was in Egra, ſent his opinion in writing. "For my part, ſaid he, we muſt either aſſemble all our forces and fight, or elſe proceed no farther: we have no alternative." The reſt adviſed, what had often been propoſed before their march into Bohemia, to turn off towards the Danube, and thereby alarm Auſtria. Thus the army could hardly ſet foot in Bohemia; but fatigued and diminiſhed by a long and painful march, they returned towards Bavaria. It was, however, better for that electorate to have theſe new troops, which, joined to thoſe of count Saxe, amounted to upwards of fifty thouſand fighting men. The court ſent M. Broglio to command them.

This general paſſed through Saxony, with five hundred horſe, November 12: he arrived at Nuremberg, and at Dengelfing in Bavaria, on the 22d, where he took upon him the command of the army. Marſhal Belleiſle remained at Prague, where he engaged the cloſe attention of the Auſtrians. The auxiliary army,

now of conſequence, was ſuperior in Bavaria. Munich was a ſecond time relieved, and the emperor entered it again. That prince had ſtill between ten and twelve thouſand men. They were maſters of the Danube for upwards of thirty leagues; that is to ſay, from Ulm almoſt to Paſſau. In Bohemia they ſtill kept Egra and Prague; and the little circle of Leutmeritz, between Prague and Saxony, was ſtill in their hands. The affairs of the emperor might have been re-eſtabliſhed; but Leutmeritz was ſoon after taken, and marſhal Belleiſle found himſelf ſhut up in Prague, together with his whole army, now reduced to about ſeventeen thouſand men, without money, ſubſiſtence, or hope of ſuccour: he had nothing to hope, but from himſelf, and the good diſpoſition of his officers, who none of them fell ſhort of what he expected. In a letter, dated October 28, he ſays; "I cannot, on this occaſion, ſufficiently praiſe the zeal of the dukes de Chevreuſe and Fleury, and the marquis de Surgeres, who ſold every thing they had left to remount the dragoons."

Marſhal Belleiſle, ſeconded by his brother, brought proviſions into Prague, opened the paſſes, beat the enemy's parties, and kept them at leaſt ſix leagues diſtance all round him: he eſtabliſhed an exact police in the town; and, what was not the ſmalleſt of his labours, cauſed an exact diſcipline to be obſerved among his troops.

When we examine the memoirs of this ſiege, and ſee the extremities to which they were reduced, the loud and inceſſant complaints among the troops, the ſeries of diſappointments,

appointments, their want, and the accumulated miſeries whereby they were diſcouraged, it is aſtoniſhing to think whence this general could draw his reſources. M. de Sechelles wanted money, and yet he never let the hoſpitals want. In this place the moſt immediate aſſiſtance was neceſſary: above twenty ſoldiers died daily, one after another, during the whole month of June. Theſe and many other loſſes preſented themſelves continually to the minds of the ſoldiers, terrified with their preſent evils, and a proſpect of what were to come, which imagination never fails to heighten conſiderably.

They were thus cruelly ſituated in the month of November, when the miniſtry ordered marſhal Belleiſle to attempt the evacuation of Prague, even in ſight of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote word, that he had taken ſuch meaſures as enabled him to obey any orders that might be given him, and he would undertake to hold out four months longer, in caſe he were commanded to do ſo; but if the miniſtry thought it more expedient that he ſhould withdraw with his troops out of Prague, he would conduct them in ſafety to Egra, in ſpite of the enemy's army, and the extreme rigour of the ſeaſon. The court preferred the latter proceeding, and it was accordingly carried into execution: during the blockade this general had remounted his cavalry; his dragoons were formed out of the artillery horſes; he had covered waggons to carry proviſions; he wanted for no manner of conveniency; but the danger was extreme.

Prince

Prince Lobkowitz had diſtributed his army in ſuch a manner that they ſurrounded the town; the inhabitants of which were ſo many ſpies on the motions of the French. In the mean time, the weather grew daily more cold, and became almoſt intolerable. There were upwards of two thouſand ſoldiers ſick in the place, and the marſhal himſelf had been a long while in ſo bad a ſtate of health, that he could not mount on horſeback; yet, in the midſt of all theſe conſpiring obſtacles, he fixed on the night of the 16th or 17th of December, 1742, to make his retreat. In order to ſecure it more effectually, it was incumbent on him not only to deceive prince Lobkowitz, but alſo the inhabitants of the place, and his own people: to this end, he was continually ſending detachments all around him to bring in forage, which were always accompanied with cannon and covered waggons; ſo that the ſurprize ſhould be leſs when he choſe to evacuate the place, which muſt be done with ſuch an equipage. Two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his intended departure, the gates of the town were kept ſhut; and having cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he was to ſally out and make an expedition on ſuch a quarter, he made his retreat by another road; whereby he gained upon prince Lobkowitz a march of twenty-four hours, keeping his people all the while in order of battle, and followed ſometimes by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy chanced to preſent themſelves. He forced their quarters, repulſed their cuiraſſiers, and opened for himſelf, with a body of eleven thouſand

thouſand infantry, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, a paſſage through the country, that had been entirely unknown. The retreat was continued for ten days through ice and ſnow. The enemy's cavalry harraſſed them perpetually on their march, appearing always ſomewhere either in front, rear, or flank, and were continually repulſed: could they have poſſeſſed themſelves of the proviſions, Belleiſle's whole army had been deſtroyed.

To prevent this misfortune, his corps marched in five diviſions, each of which had under its care its reſpective ſhare of proviſion and ammunition. On the third day prince Lobkowitz appeared at the head of a body of cavalry, on the other ſide of a plain where they might have come to an engagement. He held a council of war, in which it was reſolved not to attack an army, who, if forced to it, muſt certainly fight with that ſort of deſpair that renders courage invincible: he determined therefore to cut off the retreat of the French by breaking down the bridges on the Eger, over which they muſt neceſſarily paſs.

Marſhal Belleiſle choſe, however, a road which would have been, in any other ſeaſon, impaſſable: he marched his army acroſs ſome frozen moraſſes. The cold was his greateſt enemy, for he loſt by that alone above eight hundred ſoldiers. One of the hoſtages which he brought with him from Prague expired in his coach. At length he arrived at Egra, on the twenty-ſixth of December, having performed a journey of thirty-eight leagues. That very day the troops that remained behind in Prague made a glorious capitulation. The ſame monſieur de Chevert,

Chevert, who had been the firſt in mounting the walls of the place, had been left to command therein with a garriſon of about three thouſand men, one third of whom were ſick. He took hoſtages from the town, ſhut them up in his own houſe, and lodged ſeveral tons of gunpowder in his cellars, fully reſolved to blow himſelf and them together into the air, in caſe the citizens ſhould offer him the leaſt violence. This intrepid conduct contributed not a little to thoſe honourable conditions which he obtained of prince Lobkowitz. He was allowed to march his garriſon to Egra, with all the honours of war, the ſick excepted, who, not being able to follow him, were obliged to ſubmit to the hard fate of becoming priſoners of war, though their behaviour merited a much better fate. Thus the town of Prague, which had been taken by the French in half-an-hour, was now happily evacuated after a ſiege and blockade of five months. The French being now left alone, without allies, could not preſerve Bohemia to the emperor; but they reſtored him to the poſſeſſion of Bavaria.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The ſtate of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs between England and Spain. Commercial intereſts. What ſhare Italy took in the troubles which aroſe after the death of Charles VI. The ſhare taken therein by Holland. Death of cardinal Fleury.

IN the ſpace of two years, reckoning from the death of the laſt Auſtrian emperor to the end of 1742, we have ſeen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, taken and retaken; Pruſſia and Saxony united with France, until the treaty of Breſlau, made in June the ſame year, and becoming afterwards neuter; while the other princes of the empire remained ſilent. In the ſame year alſo, George II. king of England, elector of Hanover, began openly to break the neutrality to which he had been forced to accede; and his troops in Flanders, to the amount of forty-eight thouſand men, tho' as yet in a ſtate of inaction, were, however, in readineſs to act. The Auſtrian army was in poſſeſſion of all Bohemia, Egra excepted. There were ſtill fifty thouſand French in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, under marſhal Broglio, againſt a like number of the enemy; ſo that it was yet doubtful whether the Bavarian emperor, aſſiſted by France, ſhould conquer, or whether he ſhould preſerve his patrimony, or even the imperial crown.

It is to be remarked, that ſince the month of Auguſt 1741, France had ſent to the emperor's aſſiſtance,

aſſiſtance, at different times, one hundred and fifty ſquadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight troops of light horſe, three thouſand Palatines, and three thouſand Heſſians; to all which may be added the Bavarians themſelves, who were paid by France, who likewiſe raiſed, about the year 1742, thirty thouſand militia, deducted from the people of different departments, in proportion to their number. And here it is not amiſs to obſerve, that the department of Paris furniſhes only fourteen hundred and ten men; while Normandy furniſhes three thouſand and ninety; a proof that this province is to be conſidered as the more populous.

France had alſo at the ſame time other reſources; for beſides what ſhe paid to the Heſſians and Palatines; beſides ſix millions yearly given to the emperor; ſhe granted ſubſidies to the king of Denmark, to prevent that crown from furniſhing troops to the king of England; ſhe alſo ſtill retained Sweden in her pay, whom ſhe had aſſiſted in her war againſt Ruſſia; and had it not been for this war, the court of Peterſburg might have aſſiſted the Auſtrians, as ſhe afterwards did, with thirty thouſand men.

We ſee what efforts France was obliged to make both at home and abroad: ſhe was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland was far from cordially ſupporting the intereſts of her king, the elector of Saxony; and that elector, ſince his peace with the queen, concerned himſelf no farther in the quarrel of the empire. The grand ſignior, ſtanding in awe of Schah-Nadir, who had uſurped the throne of Perſia, and conquered part

part of Aſia, no longer diſturbed the kingdom of Hungary. Such was the ſtate of affairs in the Northern and Eaſtern parts of Europe, and in the Southern and Weſtern parts, in which latter I include France and Italy.

Spain exhibited another ſcene, wherein England was a principal actor, as well with regard to that balance of power which ſhe had always affected to hold, as her commerce, in which was her more real and ſenſible intereſt. We have already obſerved, that after the happy concluſion of the peace of Utrecht, the Engliſh, who were left in poſſeſſion of Minorca, as well as of Gibraltar in Spain, had obtained privileges from the court of Madrid which had been denied to the French, her defenders. The Engliſh merchants were permitted to ſupply the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, whom they purchaſed in Africa to make ſlaves of in the new world. This trade of one ſpecies of mankind ſelling thoſe of another ſpecies, at the duty of thirty-three piaſtres a-head, paid by way of duty to the Spaniſh government, was attended with conſiderable profit; for the Engliſh company had obtained this advantage, that in the ſale of four thouſand eight hundred negroes, the eight hundred were vended duty-free. But the greateſt advantage which was granted to the Engliſh, excluſive of all other nations, was a permiſſion given them in the year 1716, to ſend a veſſel annually to Porto Bello.

This veſſel, which was by the firſt agreement to be only five hundred tons burthen, was by convention in 1717, encreaſed to eight hundred, which by abuſe and connivance was

in

in reality ſwelled to a thouſand; ſo that it was fit to contain two millions weight of merchandize; theſe thouſand tons were yet the ſmalleſt part of the commerce which this company carried on. The veſſel was followed by a pinnace, which went to and from her continually, under pretence of ſupplying her with proviſions. This pinnace took in conſtant loadings at the Britiſh colonies, which ſhe unburthened at the ſhip; which being thus conſtantly repleniſhed was as good as a whole fleet. She was, beſides, ſupplied by other veſſels, who landed on the American coaſts ſuch kind of commodities as the people were in want of *. This was doing great injury to the Spaniſh government, as well as to all the nations concerned in the commerce carried on between the ports of Spain and the gulph of Mexico.

The Spaniſh government in return treated the Engliſh traders with ſeverity; and ſeverity is always carried to too great a length. The innocent were ſometimes confounded with the guilty: the debts lawfully due to ſome people were detained, becauſe others had made unjuſt gains. There were violent complaints on both ſides. Many of the Engliſh carried on a piratical trade with impunity: they encountered ſome Spaniards on the coaſt of Florida, who were fiſhing for the treaſure of the wrecked galleons, of which they had already recovered four hundred thouſand piaſtres. Part of theſe people they killed, and carried off the

* Certain it is, many abuſes were committed, though perhaps not ſo flagrant as our author has repreſented them.

money.

money *. The Spaniards demanded ſatisfaction for this and other acts of violence of the Engliſh governors in America. Theſe buccaneers uſed often, when they had ſeized upon a Spaniſh ſhip, after having plundered it, to ſink it with the crew, that no teſtimony of their crime might ſurvive. At other times they were wont to diſpoſe of the Spaniards as ſlaves in their colonies; and when theſe unhappy people ſolicited the Engliſh government to do them juſtice, thoſe who had ſold them were acquitted from puniſhment, becauſe they affirmed, that, miſled by their ſwarthy complexions, they miſtook the Spaniards for negroes. The judges underſtood, and winked at the aggreſſors, in whoſe plunder they ſhared, and who were then ſaid to have been tried by their peers.

The Spaniſh guarda-coſtas often avenged themſelves of theſe cruel hoſtilities: they took ſeveral Engliſh veſſels, the crews of which they treated very ill. A negotiation was carried on, both at Madrid and London, for putting an end to thoſe quarrels in America. By the convention of Pardo, made January 14, 1739, Spain having ſettled her account with the Engliſh South-Sea company, promiſed to pay thereto, in four months, ninety thouſand pounds; firſt deducting therefrom what the company was in other reſpects indebted to Spain. This deduction furniſhed freſh matter

* Theſe are particulars which we never heard of before; but granting them to be true, the Engliſh government was not accountable for the actions and outrages of pirates, who are under the protection of no laws, and declared enemies to all nations.

for

for a broil; and the ſettling of the accounts of a commercial company was productive of a war which coſt on each ſide a thouſand times more than what either demanded.

In 1739, the captain of a ſhip, named Jenkins, preſented himſelf to the houſe of commons in England: he was a plain open man, and had not, as it was ſaid, carried on any illicit commerce, but was met by a Spaniſh guarda-coſta within a certain boundary in America, where the Spaniards would not permit the Engliſh to navigate. The Spaniſh commandant, having ſeized upon Jenkins's ſhip, put the crew in irons, ſlit the captain's noſe, and cut off his ears. In this condition he appeared before the parliament, and related his ſtory with that ſimplicity which is natural to his profeſſion and character. "Gentlemen, ſaid he, when they had mangled me thus, they threatened me with death: it was what I expected: I recommended my ſoul to God, and the avenging my cauſe to my country." Theſe words, pronounced with a natural emphaſis, excited ſentiments of pity and indignation in the whole aſſembly; and the common people wrote upon the door of the parliament-houſe, "A free ſea, or a war."

It has been already obſerved, that the miniſter Walpole wanted to reconcile theſe differences: his enemies endeavoured to augment them: never was any ſubject handled with more real eloquence than this was in the houſe of commons of England; nay, I doubt whether the ſtudied orations formerly delivered in Athens and Rome upon occaſions almoſt ſimilar, excelled the ſpeeches now ſpoken extempore by Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole,

Walpole, Lord Cheſterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, ſince created earl of Bath. Theſe diſcourſes, which naturally ariſe from the Engliſh government and ſpirit, often amaze ſtrangers, juſt as ſome commodities are capitally prized abroad, which in the country that produces them are but little valued: but theſe productions muſt be cautiouſly peruſed, as the ſpirit of party dictates the whole, and the true ſtate of the nation is almoſt always veiled. The miniſterial party paint the government as being in a very flouriſhing condition; the oppoſite faction repreſent the nation to be in a ruined ſtate. Exaggeration triumphs in both. A member of parliament at that time wrote thus: "Where are thoſe days in which a ſecretary of war declared, that no power in Europe ſhould dare to fire a ſingle cannon, without permiſſion being firſt obtained from Great Britain?"

At length the voice of the nation determined the reſolution of the king and parliament. Letters of repriſal were granted to the merchants and privateers. War was declared againſt Spain in form about the latter end of the year 1739. The ocean now became the theatre of a war in which the privateers of each nation were authoriſed, by letters patent, to attack the merchant-ſhips both in Europe and America; thereby reciprocally ruining that commerce, for the preſervation of which they were ſuppoſed to fight. They ſoon proceeded to greater hoſtilities.

In 1740 admiral Vernon entered the gulph of Mexico, where he attacked, took, and razed to the ground, Porto-Bello, the ſtaple of the treaſures of the new world; and thus did he open

open a channel by which the Engliſh, ſword in hand, carried on that commerce, which had heretofore been pronounced clandeſtine, and was the occaſion of the rupture. The Engliſh looked upon this expedition as one of the greateſt ſervices that could be done to the nation. The admiral was honoured with the thanks of both houſes of parliament. They wrote to him in the ſame terms which had been addreſſed to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hochſtet *. South Sea ſtock aroſe after that action, notwithſtanding the immenſe expence of the nation. The Engliſh now hoped for nothing leſs than the conqueſt of all Spaniſh America: they ſuppoſed that nothing could reſiſt the arms of Vernon; and ſhortly after, when that admiral went to lay ſiege to Carthagena, they anticipated the celebration of the taking of the place; inſomuch that, at the very time in which he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, a medal was ſtruck in London, on which were to be ſeen the harbour and environs of Carthagena, with this inſcription: "He has taken Carthagena." The reverſe exhibited admiral Vernon and this motto: "To the avenger of his country." There have been many inſtances of theſe premature medals, whereby poſterity might be deceived, if the errors were not removed by the more faithful and more exact reports of hiſtory.

Although the French navy was very weak, it was, however, ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs

* The reduction of Porto Bello, which did not coſt the lives of ten men, was magnified into a great exploit by the ſpirit of party; but the admiral who took it had not talents to maintain the reputation which he had ſo eaſily acquired.

of the Engliſh, and ſquadrons were ſent by France to protect the veſſels and coaſts of Spain. It was contrary to the law of nations, ſhould the Engliſh, as they had not broken with France, have attacked her flag; but they eluded this artifice with a new kind of policy: they twice pretended to miſtake the French for Spaniſh ſhips. Six of their ſhips of war attacked the chevalier d'Epinay off St. Domingo, who had but four, each of which carried leſs metal than any of the Engliſh; but, finding themſelves very roughly handled, they drew off, pretending to have found their miſtake, and aſking pardon *. Fighting by miſtake was an action that had never been known before. They behaved in the ſame manner to the chevalier de Caylus in the Straits of Gibraltar: he gave them as warm a reception, though he had but three ſhips againſt five. Thus did they try each other's ſtrength, without being declared enemies. Now the new political ſyſtem began

* M. de Voltaire is very much miſtaken if he thinks the Engliſh commanders had orders to proſecute hoſtilities in this manner. The two incidents he mentions aroſe from a ſcrupulous adherence to punctilio. The Engliſh captains expected and demanded a compliment which they thought due to the Britiſh flag; and this being refuſed, hoſtilities enſued. He is alſo miſtaken in two other particulars. In the affair off St. Domingo, the number and ſtrength of the ſhips on both ſides were equal, if we may believe our own eyes, which were witneſſes of this tranſaction; and, according to the beſt accounts we could receive, the French were much more roughly handled than the Engliſh. This was alſo the caſe in the affair between captain Barnet and the count de Caylus; Barnet had but two ſhips, and Caylus had three. It is a mortifying reflection to think how hiſtorical truth is weakened through the medium of national vanity.

to be ſet on foot, of making war in the time of profound peace; of committing hoſtilities in one part of the world, and of manifeſting mutual friendſhip in another; alſo of keeping ambaſſadors in an enemy's court. Theſe ſort of proceedings were in ſome meaſure conſoling to the people, and carried at leaſt marks of moderation, which gave them room to hope for public unity and concord.

This was the ſtate of affairs between France, Spain, and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. involved Europe in freſh troubles. We have already ſeen the effects in Germany of the diſpute between Auſtria and Bavaria. Italy was ſoon ravaged on account of this Auſtrian ſucceſſion; the Milaneſe was reclaimed by the Spaniards; Parma and Placentia were, by right of birth, to devolve upon one of the ſons of the queen of Spain, ſhe being born princeſs of Parma.

King Philip V. wanted therefore to ſecure the duchy of Milan to his third ſon †. It would have alarmed Italy too much if Parma and Placentia had been diſpoſed of in favour of Don Carlos, who was already maſter of Naples and Sicily. Too much dominion in the hands of the ſame ſovereign would have given a general uneaſineſs. For this reaſon Milan and Parma were deſigned for the infant Don Philip.

The queen of Hungary, who was in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, uſed her utmoſt efforts to keep it. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, alſo revived his claim upon that province: he

† It was the wife of this prince, whoſe reſtleſs ambition embroiled Italy in order to obtain a ſettlement for her ſon Philip

feared ſeeing it in the hands of the houſe of Lorrain, engraſted on the houſe of Auſtria, who poſſeſſing, at the ſame time, the Milaneſe and Tuſcany, might be ſtrong enough to deprive him of the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738: but he was ſtill in greater dread of ſeeing himſelf hemmed in by France and a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, while another prince of that family ſat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily. January 1, 1742, he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he ſtated his claims; but, in the month of February, he reſolved to act conjunctively with the queen of Hungary, without being upon good terms with her in the main: they only united againſt the preſent danger. This was the only advantage they propoſed. The king of Sardinia reſerved to himſelf the choice of adopting other meaſures, whenever he ſhould think proper: this was a treaty between two enemies, intended only to defend themſelves againſt a third. The court of Spain ſent Don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who neither choſe to have him as a friend nor a neighbour. Cardinal Fleury allowed the infant and part of his army to paſs through France, but refuſed to furniſh him with troops: he thought it was enough to have ſent fleets to America.

This miniſter ſeemed to be now afraid to grant twelve thouſand men to a prince of the houſe of Bourbon and Lewis XV's ſon-in-law; and yet, about a year before, he had marched two armies of forty thouſand each into two different parts of Germany for the ſervice and aſſiſtance of the elector of Bavaria. Sometimes

5903188

we do too much, and at others are fearful of doing ever ſo little. The reaſon of his acting thus was, that he flattered himſelf the duke of Savoy might be regained, who was politic enough to leave him room to hope for it; beſides, he did not at this time chuſe to fall out with the Engliſh, who would have infallibly declared war; for in the month of February, 1742, the parliament of Great Britain granted forty thouſand ſailors to the king, at four pounds ſterling for each man monthly: they alſo allowed him conſiderable ſubſidies, always expreſly recommending to him the care of the balance of power in Europe. There was a conſiderable Engliſh fleet in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and one ſtill ſtronger off Breſt. Cardinal Fleury, who had hitherto always maintained the aſcendency over the Engliſh in negotiating, and relied much upon his ſuperiority in the cabinet, had neglected the marine. The continental revolutions, which commenced in Germany, were of ſuch a nature, as not to leave him at liberty every-where to brave the maritime powers.

The Engliſh openly oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of Don Philip in Italy, under pretence of preſerving the balance of power. In 1702, indeed, they had viewed the balance of power in a different light: it was then they entered into a war for giving to the archduke Charles the crown of Spain, the new world, the Milaneſe, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders; while his brother Joſeph was poſſeſſed of Hungary, Auſtria, Bohemia, and many other dominions, as well as being ſeated on the imperial throne.

In

In a word, this ſame balance of power, whether well or ill underſtood, was become the favourite paſſion of the Engliſh: but the miniſter had his eye upon a much more ſecret intereſt. One of his views was to force Spain to divide with England the trade of the new world: at this price they would have aſſiſted Don Philip to enter Italy, as they had ſuccoured Don Carlos in 1731: but the court of Spain did not chuſe to enrich her enemies at ſuch vaſt expences; and, moreover, depended upon its power to eſtabliſh Don Philip in ſpite of them. In the months of November and December 1741, the court of Spain tranſported by ſea ſeveral bodies of troops to Italy, under the conduct of the duke de Montemar, famous for his victory at Bitonto, and afterwards remarkable by his diſgrace. They had been ſucceſſively debarked in Tuſcany, and in thoſe ports called the ſtate *Degli Preſidii*, belonging to the crown of Sicily. Their route lying neceſſarily through Tuſcany, the grand duke, huſband to the queen of Hungary, gave them a free paſſage, having declared himſelf neuter in the cauſe of his wife. The duke of Modena, who was married to a princeſs of the blood of France, alſo declared himſelf neuter. Pope Benedict XIV. thro' whoſe territories both the Spaniſh and Auſtrian armies were to paſs, promiſed the ſame neutrality, and for a better reaſon than any other, as being the common father both of princes and people.

Freſh forces alſo arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa: that republic had alſo declared itſelf neuter, and permitted them to proceed. About this time, the king of Naples too adopted the neutral ſyſtem, though his father

and brother were principally concerned; yet after all not one of theſe potentates, apparently neutral, were ſo in reality. Don Carlos ſent two Neapolitan regiments in Spaniſh pay to the duke de Montemar: he was compelled to promiſe that he would take no part in the diſpute. Neither the coaſts, nor yet the city of Naples, were ſecure from being bombarded by the Engliſh fleet. He had not reigned long enough to make his kingdom that powerful ſtate which it had been formerly under the princes of Normandy and thoſe of the houſe of Anjou. It was now near three hundred years ſince Naples had had a ſovereign reſiding in the capital; the country was always before governed by viceroys; and, often changing its maſters, had not been able to acquire that ſtrength which a ſtate derives from the ſettled rule of a prince who reſides in perſon in his dominions. The king had began with eſtabliſhing regularity and commerce; but it requires time to raiſe a marine, and form a body of diſciplined and warlike troops. This prince's remaining neuter did not prevent the duke de Montemar's army from being encreaſed by ſeveral Neapolitan regiments, as has been before remarked. By this expedient Don Carlos trained his ſoldiers, and preſerved to his people peace and commerce.

The duke of Modena was already the ſecret friend of Spain; Genoa had much the ſame inclination; and the Pope, having acknowledged the emperor immediately after his election, did not appear entirely neutral towards the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, the queen's governor in the duchy of Milan, aſſembling all his forces, joined them

them to thoſe which were ſent him from Tirol, in order to oppoſe the Spaniards. About the beginning of March 1740, the king of Sardinia, ſeconding warmly the Auſtrians, advanced towards the territories of Parma. Charles Emanuel III. king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, appeared every way deſerving of a much more extenſive dominion than that which he poſſeſſed, and which it was his chief ſtudy to augment: he now exerted as much courage and activity in the cauſe of the houſe of Auſtria, as he had diſplayed againſt it in the war of 1733. In theſe two conjunctures he ſhewed how valuable his alliance was, and that nothing ought to be neglected either to ſecure him or deprive him of power: he had excellent miniſters and good generals, and was himſelf both a miniſter and a general; an œconomiſt in his expences, ſkilful in his conduct, indefatigable in hardſhip, and courageous in danger.

He appeared even ſo early as the month of May with eighteen thouſand men on the ſide of Parma, while the Auſtrians advanced towards the Bologneſe with about twelve thouſand. The duke of Montemar, not near ſo ſtrong, loſt ground every-where. The king of Sardinia penetrated even to Modena, with intention to make that duke renounce the neutrality and join him: he propoſed, conjunctively with the Auſtrians, that he ſhould give up his citadel to them; but that prince and his ſpouſe had too much courage to be compelled to take part in an affair in which they were no way concerned: they rather choſe the misfortune of loſing their territories for a while, than the ſhame of being dependent upon thoſe, who, under the name of

allies, propoſed to hold them really in ſervitude: they quitted their principality, and retired to Ferrara; while the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, poſſeſſing themſelves of the duchy of Modena, waſted the whole country. Such was the end of their neutrality!

As to the Pope, if the queen of Hungary did not oblige him to renounce the ſyſtem he had adopted, ſhe forced him, however, to furniſh the means of carrying on the war even on the papal territory; for, as ſoon as her arms had gained the upper hand, ſhe obtained a bull for levying the tenth penny on all eccleſiaſtical livings throughout her Italian dominions: her troops, which purſued the duke de Montemar in the marquiſate of Ancona, lived at the expence of the ſubjects of the holy ſee. Rome had it not in her power to cauſe her neutrality to be reſpected. It was no longer the time in which the popes were able, ſword in hand, to defend or encreaſe their territories: they are more rich, but leſs powerful than formerly: they have neither generals nor armies: taken up with a pacific ſyſtem for more than two hundred years, they receive law generally from the army that is higheſt to their dominions. Cardinal Alberoni, ſome years ſince, propoſed a ſcheme for remedying this weakneſs, by eſtabliſhing an Italic body with the pope at their head, as we ſee in Germany the emperor at the head of the Germanic body: but this project was too great to defend them from the calamities to which war always ſubjects a neutral and defenceleſs ſtate.

With reſpect to the king of Naples's neutrality, this was the conſequence: Auguſt 18, they

they were ſurpriſed with the appearance, off the port of Naples, of an Engliſh ſquadron, conſiſting of ſix ſixty gun ſhips of war, ſix frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Captain, afterwards admiral Martin, who commanded this ſquadron, ſent an officer aſhore with a letter to the chief miniſter; the purport of which was, that his Neapolitan majeſty ſhould recal his troops from the Spaniſh army; or otherwiſe, that his capital ſhould be immediately bombarded. Some conferences were held: the Engliſh commodore, at length, gave him only one hour to determine. The port was but poorly furniſhed with artillery: they had not taken precautions neceſſary to ſecure them from inſult, becauſe they had not expected it. They now ſaw that the old maxim is often verified, which ſays, "Whoever rules at ſea, will be maſter at land." They were obliged to ſign every thing the Engliſh commodore propoſed, and even to obſerve the treaty, until they had provided for the defence of the port and the kingdom *.

The Engliſh themſelves were very well convinced that the king of Naples could no more obſerve this neutrality which he had been obliged to embrace, than the king of England had obſerved his in Germany. The duke de Montemar, who had entered Italy to reduce Lombardy, retired towards the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, always cloſely preſſed by

* It would not be amiſs to repeat the ſame expedient at this juncture: for, howſoever the Neapolitans may have fortified their city againſt the cannon of the Engliſh fleet, they will find it impoſſible to ſecure it againſt the horrors of a bombardment.

the Auſtrians. The king of Sardinia returned at the ſame time to Piedmont and his duchy of Savoy, where his preſence was required by the viciſſitudes of war. The infant Don Philip had vainly ſtrove to debark ſome freſh troops at Genoa, which he had been hindered from doing by the Engliſh ſquadron; but by land he entered the duchy of Savoy, of which he became maſter. The ſyndics of Chamberry paid him homage: he forbade the inhabitants of the duchy to correſpond in the leaſt with their maſter, under pain of death. King Charles Emanuel paſſed the Alps with twenty thouſand men; and the infant, who had ſcarcely more than two thouſand, abandoning his conqueſts, retired towards Dauphiny, to wait for reinforcements. As ſoon as theſe had reached him, the Spaniards poſſeſſed themſelves a ſecond time of Savoy. This country is almoſt entirely open on the ſide of Dauphiny; but it is poor and barren; ſo that the ſovereign hardly draws from it a million of livres yearly. Charles Emanuel abandoned it to haſten to the defence of places more important.

It is evident from this ſketch that the alarm was general, and all the provinces from the heart of Sileſia to the extremity of Italy experienced different reverſes of fortune. Auſtria was at this time at open war only with Bavaria and Spain. Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome, were neuter. The people of the Milaneſe, of Mantua, of Parma, Modena, and Guaſtalla, long accuſtomed to be the prey of the conqueror, without daring to vote either for or againſt him, looked upon theſe irruptions and frequent ſhocks with an impotent melancholy

choly concern. The court of Spain demanded of the ſtates of Switzerland a paſſage through their territories for ſome troops they were going to ſend into Italy, and were refuſed. The Swiſs hire their ſoldiers to different princes, but forbid them from entering their territories; the government is pacific, and the people warriors; a neutrality of ſuch a nature could not but be reſpected. To give a proper weight to hers, Venice levied twenty thouſand men.

All Germany ſeemed indifferent in the quarrel between Auſtria and Bavaria. Even the elector of Cologn did not dare to take the part of his brother, who was emperor: he feared the fate of the duke of Modena. If Hanover took part in the quarrel, it was only as a country ſubject to England, and her ſoldiers were paid by that crown. The German princes themſelves, although their troops were let out as mercenaries, were yet regarded as neuter. The imperial territories, in which the forces of the belligerant powers at different times appeared, were ſeldom pillaged. The French paid for every thing in ready money; the Auſtrians in paper: England and Holland ſtill kept up at leaſt the appearance of peace with France. There was a conſul from England at Naples, a miniſter from France at Turin, nay even at Vienna; and thoſe ſtates again had their repreſentatives at Paris. But at bottom, the courts of Vienna, London, and Turin, were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſhake the French monarchy.

England was more urgent with Holland than ever to declare war, and France laboured hard to prevent it. This little republic might have

enjoyed the glory of being mediatrix between France and Auſtria; it would have been for her intereſt, as well as her grandeur: but the Engliſh faction *, which was uppermoſt at the Hague, prevailed. Holland, however, miſſed this opportunity of playing the nobleſt part ſhe ever could have done in Europe. It often happens that one man judges better in times of faction and prejudice than a whole ſenate, or even a nation. M. Van Hoy, ambaſſador from the States General to the court of France, inceſſantly remonſtrated to them, that nothing could ſo much contribute to their intereſt and glory as being the mediators; that if they purſued a contrary plan, they would have nothing left but a fruitleſs repentance. But the prevailing faction at the Hague grew incenſed at his counſel, and forbad him (behaviour before unheard-of!) to uſe any more reflections in his letters. The party that contended for a war cauſed his letters to be publiſhed in Holland to expoſe him to ridicule, becauſe they ſeemed rather the exhortations of a philoſopher, than the letters of an ambaſſador; but they only publiſhed their own condemnation.

There were indeed ſome members of the States General who both thought and ſpoke like M. Van Hoy; but they engroſſed very lit-

* Rather the Orange faction, which has always comprehended the army, and the bulk of the common people, who find their account in war, and are eaſily influenced by the emiſſaries of corruption. The other party, known by the appellation of Louvenſtein, conſiſts of a few patriots, who are averſe to a perpetual dictator; ſome malecontents, and a good number attached, from views of ſelf-intereſt, to the court of Verſailles.

tle

tle attention. They were warmed with the ſingle word *liberty*, the remembrance of their having been over-run by Lewis XIV. and the hopes of humbling his ſucceſſor. One would think it ſcarcely probable, that in the preſent times ſome out lines of the cuſtoms and manners of old Greece ſhould be revived; yet it was now ſeen in Holland. M. William Van Haren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friſeland to the States General, compoſed ſome allegorical poems to animate the nation againſt the king of France. Theſe pieces were full of beautiful ſtrokes of writing: the author knew well how to enrich his tongue, and to give it a turn of harmony which indeed it greatly wanted. His verſes, though ſublime and allegorical, were underſtood by the people, becauſe they were natural, and the allegory clear: they were read after divine ſervice, in the public ſquares, and even in the villages; and thoſe who read them were munificently paid by the auditors, as had been formerly the caſe with thoſe who pronounced Homer's pieces in public. Nothing contributed more to enflame the Dutch. It had been propoſed to augment the republic's troops with twenty thouſand men; to furniſh the queen of Hungary with efficacious aſſiſtance; but the deputies of Amſterdam were ſtill wavering. While they were thus undetermined, they received a letter in the name of a part of the town, called Le Jourdain, which had always been a turbulent quarter; and it was couched in theſe terms: "Meſſieurs du Jourdain give this notice to Meſſieurs the deputies, that perhaps they may have their throats

throats cut, unleſs they conſent to the raiſing twenty thouſand men." This levy was agreed to, and ſet on foot ſome months after; and then the ſtates had an army of eighty thouſand men.

It did not as yet appear evident that the United Provinces were to have a ſtadtholder; his party, however, privately gained ſtrength. It was eaſily foreſeen that the ſame people who ſo loudly called out for a war, and forced their governors to augment their troops, might one day oblige them to give them a maſter. But the magiſtrates who were moſt devoted to the Engliſh faction, though determined on a war, were yet more intent on preſerving their authority: they ſtood in more dread of a ſtadtholder than the arms of France. This was evident in the military promotions made in September 1742; when, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the provinces of Groningen and Friſeland, who deſired that the prince of Orange ſhould be appointed general of infantry, the ſtates made him but a lieutenant-general, a title which the prince rejected with indignation.

In this violent ſituation were all the European powers in the beginning of the year 1743, when cardinal Fleury, after having been forced, in a very old age, notwithſtanding his character for peace, to involve Europe in trouble, departed this life: he left the naval and political affairs of France in ſuch a criſis, that it had cauſed ſome change in the before-uninterrupted happineſs of his life, but it had no effect upon the tranquility of his ſoul. He was at the time of his death eighty-

nine

nine years and ſeven months old. The cardinal may be conſidered as having been a happy man, if we only reflect, that from the trueſt enumeration, and moſt exact calculations, it is proved, according to the courſe of nature, not above one man in an hundred and forty cotemporaries, arrive to eighty years of age. But we muſt allow, that no man ever run through a more ſingular or fortunate career, ſince it is well known, that among thoſe who arrive at that age, ſeldom one in a thouſand preſerves his health, and has a head fit for buſineſs; and if it be remembered, that the cardinal was ſeventy-three when he aſſumed the function of prime miniſter, at which time of life the greateſt part of mankind chuſe to retire from public buſineſs.

If his good fortune was ſingular, ſo was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes had the riches of a ſovereign, and levied armies at his own expence, yet always continued to wear the cordelier's habit. Cardinal d'Amboiſe aſpired at the papal crown. Wolſey, in his diſgrace, deplored his condition, becauſe upon the road he had only an hundred and eighty domeſtics to attend him. Every one knows the vanity and arrogance of cardinal Richelieu, and the immenſe wealth which Mazarin left behind him. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left him whereby to be diſtinguiſhed, but his modeſty; born to no fortune, and ſubſiſting merely upon the allowance of one of his uncles, he expended in beneficent actions what he received from generoſity. His whole income, when prime miniſter, was ſixty thouſand livres, ariſing from two benefices; twenty thouſand, and no more,

was

was the produce of his ſeat in council; and he had fifteen thouſand from the poſt-office: half of the ſum-total he laid out in private offices of charity, and the other half was conſigned to the maintenance of a moderate houſe, and a frugal table. His whole furniture was not worth two thouſand crowns.

This ſimplicity, which contributed ſo much to his reputation and fortune, was no conſtraint upon him. Men are never apt to conſtrain themſelves ſo very long. He had always lived thus entirely employed in pleaſing, and advancing his fortune, by thoſe amiable qualifications which marked his character and diſpoſition. When he was at court in the office of almoner to the dauphineſs, he gained every body's friendſhip: his converſation was mild and graceful, mixed with pleaſing and lively anecdotes, and ſometimes ſeaſoned by a daſh of raillery, which, far from being offenſive, had ſomething in it very engaging. He wrote juſt as he ſpoke. There are ſome notes of his ſtill extant, written about fifteen days before his death, which prove that he preſerved to the laſt that power of endearment. He was praiſed by all the ladies about court, without provoking the jealouſy or envy of the men. Lewis XIV. had refuſed him a biſhopric a good while. I have heard him ſay, that having at length been promoted to the dioceſe of Frejus, when he had no longer any hope of being advanced, the king addreſſed him thus: "I have made you wait longer than I intended, becauſe you [illegible] ſo many friends, who ſollicited for you; was reſolved to have the ſatisfaction of eing obliged to no-body but me."

Although

Although he had a great number of that ſort of acquaintance commonly called Friends, it was neither his rule nor his taſte to laviſh his friendſhip: he only exhibited the outward appearances of it, and even that within a certain bound which had in it nothing either falſe or impoſing; being maſter of the art of preſerving the good-will of all mankind, without entruſting his ſecrets with any one: he reſigned his biſhopric as ſoon as he was able, after having by his œconomy paid off ſeveral debts with which it had been encumbered, and done a vaſt deal of good by his ſpirit of reconciliation.

Theſe were the predominant parts of his character. The reaſon which he gave to his people for reſigning his biſhopric, was, that his bad ſtate of health prevented him from paying a proper attention to the welfare of his flock: he aſſigned the ſame reaſon to the duke of Orleans, in his regency, for refuſing the archbiſhopric of Rheims, which his highneſs offered to him. When marſhal Villars preſſed him to accept of it, his anſwer was, it would be very unbecoming him, who had not the ability to govern the dioceſe of Frejus, ſhould he find ability to guide the archbiſhopric of Rheims. This biſhopric of Frejus was far from the court in an unpleaſant country; therefore it was never agreeable to him. He uſed to ſay, that he was diſguſted at his marriage the moment he ſaw his wife. He ſubſcribed himſelf thus humourouſly enough in one of his letters to Quirini: "Fleury, by the divine wrath, biſhop of Frejus."

He vacated that biſhopric about the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which

is

is always well informed of the eccleſiaſtical affairs of other kingdoms, was convinced that this voluntary and abſolute renunciation of a biſhopric was founded in reality on a notion which Fleury entertained of being appointed preceptor to the Dauphin. Pope Clement II. who had no doubt of this, ſpoke of it openly; and indeed marſhal de Villeroi, after much ſolicitation, obtained that truſt for him of Lewis XIV. who named for it the biſhop of Frejus in his codicil. Nevertheleſs, the new preceptor explains himſelf on this matter, in a letter to cardinal Quirini, thus: "I have regretted more than once the loſs of the ſolitude of Frejus: I was informed, on my arrival, that the king was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honour of appointing me preceptor to his great grandſon: had he been able to have heard me, I would have entreated him to have excuſed me from a burthen, the conſideration of which makes me tremble; but, after his death, they would not liſten to me: I have been therefore extremely ill, and have no conſolation for the loſs of my liberty."

He comforted himſelf with inſenſibly forming his pupil to buſineſs, ſecrecy, and probity; and amidſt all the revolutions of the court, during the minority, preſerved the good-will of the regent, and the eſteem of the public. Never endeavouring to make himſelf of conſequence, nor complaining of any one; expoſing himſelf to no refuſal, nor engaging in any intrigue; but he applied himſelf ſecretly to the knowledge of the internal adminiſtration of the kingdom, and the policy of other nations. All France wiſhed to ſee him at the head of affairs,

and

and this wiſh aroſe from a conſideration of the circumſpection of his conduct, and the ſweetneſs of his manners. Accident at length placed him there againſt his will; and, thus elevated, he made it evident, that men of a mild and pacific turn of mind are fitteſt to govern. His adminiſtration was leſs oppoſed, as well as leſs envied, than that of either Richlieu or Mazarine had been in their happieſt days: his advancement had no influence on his manners: they were ſtill the ſame. It was matter of general aſtoniſhment to ſee a firſt miniſter who was unexceptionably the moſt amiable and diſintereſted man of the whole court. This moderation happily correſponded with the welfare of the ſtate: it ſtood in need of that peace of which he was ſo fond; and all the foreign miniſters were perſuaded, that, during his life, it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared, in 1725, at the congreſs of Soiſſons, all the foreign miniſters regarded him as their father; and many princes, beſides the emperor Charles VI. often in their letters diſtinguiſhed him by that title: but in 1733 they preſumed too much on his character as a peaceable man. The grand chancellor of Vienna haughtily ſaid, they might proceed as they pleaſed againſt king Staniſlaus of Poland; for the cardinal would bear it all tamely: but, when forced into a war, he conducted it with prudence and ſucceſs, and brought it to a happy concluſion. The treaty was not indeed ſatisfactory either to Spain or Savoy; but France got Lorrain by it; and ſurely there is no need for heſitation, when we are to chuſe whether we ſhall ſerve our allies or our country.

Without

Without having any mighty views, he did ſome great things, by letting them work their own events. His tranquil diſpoſition made him fear, and even under-value, men of a penetrating, active capacities; for ſuch, he pretended, were never at reſt. But as this turn of mind is always accompanied by ſtrong talents, he kept thoſe who were poſſeſſed of it at too great a diſtance. His diſtruſt of mankind was much greater than his deſire of knowing them: his age and character inclined him to believe that there was no ſort of genius in France, in any branch whatever; and even if there were, he thought he might do without thoſe who poſſeſſed it, believing it a matter of great indifference what kind of people he employed. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to introduce into the public adminiſtration that œconomy which reigned in his own houſe. By an adherence to this maxim, he neglected to keep on foot a ſtrong naval armament: he never imagined that the ſtate might one day ſtand in need of it to oppoſe the Engliſh, whom he had long amuſed with negotiations; but negotiations may vary and fail of their influence, when a good fleet will not.

The chief principle of his adminiſtration was to preſerve regularity in the finances of the kingdom, and to give her time to recóver herſelf; "like a robuſt body, which, having felt ſome ſhock, ſtands in need only of a certain regimen to reſtore it." This was the anſwer he made when a grand project was laid before him, which was an innovation of the finances; and indeed the ſtate of commerce, left almoſt to itſelf, under his adminiſtration, was very flouriſhing

flouriſhing during the peace; but not being ſupported by maritime forces equal to thoſe of England, it drooped conſiderably while the war of 1741 laſted.

His adminiſtration was not remarkable for any new eſtabliſhment in the kingdom, any public monument, nor for even one of thoſe magnificent undertakings or inſtitutions which impoſe on the public, and ſtrike the eyes of ſtrangers; but it will be always diſtinguiſhed by his moderation, ſimplicity, uniformity, and prudence.

At length the moſt peaceable of miniſters was dragged into the moſt violent quarrel; and he who was the beſt huſband of the public treaſures of France, was at laſt obliged to laviſh them on a war, which, while he lived, proved unfortunate. The king was preſent at his laſt moments; he wept over him; the dauphin was brought into the chamber, and as they kept him at ſome diſtance from the bed of the dying man, the cardinal deſired they would permit him to be brought nearer: "It is proper, ſays he, that he ſhould be accuſtomed to ſuch ſights as this is." At length he expired in his ninetieth year, undaunted and reſigned.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Unhappy ſituation of the emperor Charles VII. Loſs of the battle of Dettingen. The army of France, which was ſent to aſſiſt the emperor in Bavaria, abandons his cauſe.

NO ſooner were the eyes of cardinal Fleury cloſed, than the king took the reins of government into his own hands: there was no part, not even the minuteſt of the adminiſtration, of which he was not maſter. He was firmly reſolved to accept of an honourable peace, or to proſecute with vigor a neceſſary war; and to adhere inviolably to his word.

He made no change in the meaſures already taken; the ſame generals commanded.

It is pretended by ſome, that the ſame miſtakes were committed in 1743, which the preceding year had occaſioned the loſs of Bohemia and Bavaria; that the Bavarian and French forces being divided into too many ſeparate bodies, mouldered away by degrees. The mortality which got footing among the French troops in Bavaria was the beginning of their misfortunes. It often happens that more ſoldiers periſh through inaction than fatigue, and great care ſhould be taken to hinder any ſickneſs that chances to find its way into a camp, from ſpreading. The French ſoldiers ſpent the latter end of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crouded upon each other in German ſtoves, which alone deſtroyed them in great numbers; but that which was their greateſt detriment

was

was a miſunderſtanding between marſhal Broglio and count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who acted under prince Charles, would have had the former weaken himſelf to ſend him reinforcements; but the marſhal refuſed him as often as they were aſked, having enough to do in oppoſing prince Lobkowitz. The emperor, who was then in Munich, could not reconcile them. Broglio was ſaid in the public papers to have forty thouſand men, but he had not more than twenty thouſand.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, with his united forces, obtained at this time a complete victory over the Bavarians, in the neighbourhood of the river Inn, not far from Branaw. He cut off eight thouſand men, and took priſoners general Minuzzi, and three other general officers. The remains of the defeated army retired to Branaw, and all Bavaria was ſoon opened to the incurſions of the Auſtrians. Maria Thereſa received this news at Prague the very day on which ſhe was crowned; a ceremony with which her rival had been ſhortly before honoured in the ſame place. There was nothing now to oppoſe the progreſs of prince Charles: he took Dingelfing, Deckendorff, and Landau, upon the Iſſer; and made a number of priſoners every where.

On the other ſide, prince Lobkowitz poſſeſſed himſelf of the Upper Palatinate, and marſhal Broglio retired towards Ingoldſtat. The emperor once more fled from his capital, and ſheltered himſelf in Augſburg, an imperial town; but he did not remain there long. As

he

he quitted it, he had the mortification to ſee colonel Mentzel enter at the head of his Pandours; and theſe ſavages had the brutality to inſult him in the public ſtreets: he retired to Frankfort. This rapid courſe of events fell out in May and June.

The emperor's misfortunes daily encreaſing, he was reduced to the neceſſity of ſupplicating the queen of Hungary, whom he had been once ſo near dethroning: he offered to renounce all his claims to the inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria. The hereditary prince of Heſſe undertook the management of this negotiation, and waited on the king of England, then at Hanover, with the emperor's propoſitions. King George's anſwer was, that he would conſult his parliament. Even this negotiation of the prince of Heſſe ſerved only to convince the emperor more clearly, that his enemies meditated his expulſion from the imperial throne. The reſource which he expected by addreſſing the queen of Hungary being denied to him, his next ſtep was to declare his intention of remaining neuter, though in his own cauſe; and he therefore requeſted of her to let the ſhattered remains of his army quarter in Suabia, and to be regarded as the troops of the empire. He at the ſame time offered to ſend marſhal Broglio's army back to France. The queen anſwered, "that ſhe was not at war with the head of the empire, and ſince, according to the directions of the golden bull, which had been violated by his election, ſhe had never acknowledged him as ſuch, ſhe ſhould cauſe his troops to be attacked wherever they were

were found; yet as to himſelf, ſhe would not oppoſe his taking refuge in any part of the imperial territories, Bavaria excepted."

At the ſame time Lord Stair directed his march towards Frankfort with an army of upwards of fifty thouſand men, conſiſting of Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Auſtrians. The king of England arrived at the army with his ſecond ſon the duke of Cumberland, having in his way paſſed by Frankfort, the aſylum of the emperor, whom he ſtill acknowledged as his ſovereign in the empire, and yet againſt whom he waged war in hopes to dethrone him.

The Dutch at length conſented to join the allied army with twenty thouſand men, believing that now they could take ſuch a ſtep without any hazard; and that, without declaring war againſt France, they might help to cruſh her. They ſent ſix thouſand men into Flanders to replace the Auſtrian garriſons, and prepared to ſend fourteen thouſand men into Germany; but they proceeded in the true ſpirit of the republic very ſlowly: they either believed, or at leaſt pretended to believe, at the Hague, Vienna, and London, that France was now drained both of men and money. One of the principal members of the ſtates of Holland affirmed, that France could not raiſe more than one hundred thouſand men, and that her whole current ſpecie did not exceed two hundred millions of livres. This was abuſing the people ſtrangely; but it is neceſſary often to deceive them, to keep them in proper ſpirits.

The king of France, in the mean time, ſent marſhal Noailles with ſixty-ſix battalions, and one hundred and thirty-eight ſquadrons, to at-

tack the Engliſh wherever he could find them; and he reſolved to ſend aſſiſtance to Don Philip in Italy, in caſe the court of Sardinia ſhould refuſe to come to an accommodation. He maintained, beſides, upon the Danube, a complete army of ſixty-ſix ſquadrons and one hundred and fifteen battalions; and this force was ſtrong enough to ſuccour Egra on one ſide, and Bavaria on the other. Although but an auxiliary, he appeared every-where as a principal; and the emperor, having retreated from Augſburgh to Frankfort, expected the deciſion of his fate from the fortune of his allies or of his enemies.

The quarrels of this prince, and other diſputes to which it gave riſe, now employed not leſs than ten armies at once; five in Germany, and as many in Italy. There was, firſt, M. Broglio's army in Germany, which defended Bavaria: it was made up, in the main, of all thoſe regiments which had taken the route of Bohemia, and of half of M. Belleiſle's troops, which, joined to the Bavarians, made a very formidable body: the ſecond was that of prince Charles, which preſſed hard upon Broglio, and ravaged Bavaria: the third was that of M. de Noailles upon the Rhine, augmented with troops and recruits from M. Belleiſle. To oppoſe Noailles the Hanoverians, Auſtrians, and Engliſh, were aſſembled, to the amount of fifty thouſand men, under the command of king George II. This was the fourth army. The fifth was fourteen thouſand Dutch, advancing ſlowly, on the banks of the Maine, to join the laſt; but they came too late.

The

The five armies in Italy were, firſt, that of the infant Don Philip, which had ſubdued Savoy: ſecondly, that of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the Alps, and part was joined with the Auſtrians; which latter may be reckoned a third army, as they ſpread themſelves from the Milaneſe to the neighbourhood of Bologna: theſe were oppoſed by count Gages, a Fleming by birth, whoſe merit had raiſed him to the command of the Spaniſh army, in the place of the duke de Montemar: the fifth was that of Naples, tied up from acting by a treaty juſt then expiring. To theſe ten armies may be added an eleventh, that of Venice, kept on foot purely to ſecure that republic from the inſults of the others.

Theſe vaſt appearances kept all Europe in ſuſpenſe. It was a game played from one end to the other of this quarter of the globe by all her princes; in the courſe of which they hazarded nearly upon equal terms the blood and treaſure of their ſubjects, and held fortune long in the balance by a variety of great atchievements, vaſt miſtakes, and conſiderable loſſes. Very little land is to be gained in Italy, even with great difficulty; for, on the ſide of Piedmont, a ſingle rock may coſt a whole army; and about Lombardy the country is entirely interſected with rivers and canals.

Count Gages had paſſed the Panaro, and attacked count Traun: they fought a battle at Campo Santo in the month of February, for which *Te Deum* was ſung both at Madrid and Vienna: it coſt the lives of many brave ſoldiers on both ſides, but gave ſuperiority to neither: in Germany they expected more deciſive actions.

Marſhal de Noailles, who commanded againſt the king of England, had borne arms ever ſince he was fifteen years of age: he had been at the head of the army in Catalonia, and, beſides, paſſed through all the offices of civil government: he had directed the finances in the beginning of the regency: he had been general of an army, and miniſter of ſtate; and in all his employments was remarkable for the cultivation of letters; a conduct formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but rarely to be found in modern times in Europe. This general had, by a ſuperior manœuvre, made himſelf maſter of the country: he flanked the army of the king of England, and kept the Maine between them: at the ſame time, by ſecuring all the avenues to their camp, both above and below, he cut off all their ſubſiſtence.

The king of England took poſt at Aſchaffenburgh, a town on the Maine, belonging to the elector of Mentz: he took this ſtep againſt the opinion of the earl of Stair, and ſoon repented he had done ſo; for he now ſaw his army blocked up and ſtarved by M. Noailles *: the ſoldiers were reduced to half their daily allowance, and the king ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of retreating, to look for proviſions at Hanau, on the road to Frankfort; but in this caſe he found he muſt be expoſed to the fire of the batteries which the enemy had raiſed upon the Maine: he was therefore obliged to make a

* They were in ſuch want of forage and proviſions, that they were reduced to the neceſſity of propoſing to hamſtring their horſes, which they muſt have done, had they remained two days longer in this poſition.

precipitate

precipitate retreat with an army weakened by deſertion, and whoſe rear was in danger of being cut off by the French; for M. Noailles had taken the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aſchaffenburgh, on the road to Hanau; and this, to complete their error, the allies had not prevented. June 26, the king of England cauſed his army to decamp at midnight without beat of drum, and ventured upon a moſt precipitate and dangerous march, which indeed he could by no means avoid.

Count de Noailles, who encamped upon the ſide of that river, was the firſt who perceived this motion, of which he inſtantly appriſed his father: the marſhal roſe, and ſaw the Engliſh marching, as it were, to their deſtruction in a narrow road, with a mountain on one ſide, and a river on the other: he immediately cauſed thirty ſquadrons, conſiſting of the king's houſhold, of the dragoons, and huſſars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the Engliſh muſt neceſſarily have paſſed. Four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, were marched over two bridges, with orders to remain poſted in the village of Dettingen, on one ſide of a hollow way, where they could not be perceived by the Engliſh, of all whoſe motions the marſhal had a clear view. M. de Valiere, a lieutenant-general, who had made the artillery as ſerviceable as could be poſſible, held the enemy in a defile, between two batteries, which played upon them from the oppoſite bank. They were to paſs through a hollow way, which lies between Dettingen and a ſmall rivulet. The French were not to fall on them

but at a certain advantage, as the very ſituation of the ground was a ſnare from which they could not eſcape. The king of England was in danger of being taken. In ſhort, it was now one of thoſe critical moments that might have put an end to the war.

The marſhal recommended it to the duke de Grammont, his nephew, a lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in that poſition till the enemy ſhould fall into his hands, which was unavoidable. In the mean time, he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance ſome more cavalry, and more clearly to examine the poſture of the enemy. Moſt of the officers ſay he had better have ſtaid at the head of his army, to enforce obedience; but, had the day been ſucceſsful, this error would not have been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he ſent five brigades to ſecure the poſt of Aſchaffenburgh; ſo that the Engliſh were ſurrounded on all ſides.

All theſe meaſures were diſconcerted by a moment's impatience. The duke de Grammont, imagining that the firſt column of the enemy had already paſſed, and that he had only to fall upon their rear, which could not withſtand him, cauſed his troops to advance from the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuſe repreſented to him the danger of this unſeaſonable courage; the count de Noailles intreated that he would only wait a moment for the return of his father; the duke de Grammont, whoſe motions were already perceived by the Engliſh, thought he ought not to retire; therefore, quitting the very advantageous poſt, which he ought by all means to have kept, he advanced with a regiment of guards,

guards, and Noailles's infantry, into a ſmall field, called the Cock-pit. The Engliſh, who were filing off in order of battle, ſoon formed: their whole army conſiſted of fifty thouſand men, and they were oppoſed by thirty ſquadrons and five brigades of infantry. Thus the French themſelves fell into the very ſnare they had laid for the enemy, whom they attacked in diſorder, and with unequal force. The cannon which M. de Valiere had planted upon the Maine, raked the enemy's flank, and that of the Hanoverians in particular; but they had batteries on the other hand, which took the French army in front. The advantage of cannon, which is very great, was ſoon over-balanced; the artillery on the banks of the Maine being rendered uſeleſs, as in the confuſion it muſt have annoyed the French themſelves, in caſe of its being properly ſerved. Marſhal Noailles returned the moment the fault had been committed, and all he could do was to endeavour to repair it by the courage of his troops. The king's houſhold and the carabineers at the firſt onſet broke thro' two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry *; but they formed again inſtantly, and the French were ſurrounded. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a ſmall body of infantry: twenty-one of theſe were killed upon the ſpot, as many more wounded dangerouſly, and the regiment of guards was intirely routed.

* The houſhold troops of France made a raſh and impetuous attack upon part of the Engliſh firſt line of infantry, and ſome few of them penetrated; but they were all killed or taken to a man.

The duke de Chartres, the prince de Clermont, the count d'Eu, and the duke de Penthievre, though ſo very young, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to put a ſtop to the diſorder. The count de Noailles had two horſes killed under him, and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown from the ſaddle.

The marquis de Puiſegur, ſon of the marſhal of that name, harrangued the ſoldiers of his regiment to encourage them; followed and rallied, as much as in his power, thoſe that fled; nay ſome of them, who would not ſtand, but cried out "for each man to ſave himſelf," he killed with his own hand. The princes and dukes de Biron, Luxemburgh, Boufflers, Chevreuſe, and Peguiny, advanced at the head of the brigades they met with, and, leading them on, penetrated into the enemy's lines. On the other hand, nothing could abate the courage of the king's houſhold troops and the carabineers. Here one might ſee a company of guards and two hundred muſketeers; there a few troops of cavalry advancing with ſome light horſe, with others following the carabineers, or horſe-grenadiers, running upon the Engliſh ſword in hand, with more bravery than diſcipline; nay, ſo little was diſcipline obſerved among them, that about fifty muſketeers heroically forced their way through a regiment of horſe, called the Scotch Greys; a regiment highly eſteemed by the Engliſh, made up of picked men, choicely mounted. We may well imagine what muſt be the fate of fifty young fellows poorly mounted, againſt a body by whom they were ſo conſiderably out-numbered.

They

They were almoſt all killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. The ſon of the marquis de Fenelon was taken priſoner in the laſt rank of the regiment of Scotch Greys; twenty-ſeven officers of the king's houſhold troops periſhed in this fight, and ſixty-ſix were dangerouſly wounded: among the latter were count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt, count de Beavron, and duke de Boufflers: count de la Motte Houdancourt, gentleman-uſher to the queen, had his horſe killed under him; and, after being trampled almoſt to death by the cavalry, was carried off the field almoſt dead; the arm of the marquis de Gontaud was broken; the duke de Rochechouart, firſt lord of the bed-chamber, having been twice wounded, and continuing ſtill to fight, was at length killed on the ſpot; as was alſo the marquiſſes de Sabran, Fleury, the count d'Eſtrades, and the count de Roſtaing. The death of a count de Boufflers, of the branch of Ramiencourt, ſhould not be overlooked among the ſingularities of this unfortunate day: he was only ten years and a half old: his leg being broken by a cannon-ball, he ſuſtained the ſtroke, the cutting off his leg, and even met death itſelf with amazing intrepidity. So much youth, tempered with ſuch valour, melted into tears all who were witneſs of his misfortune!

Nor was the loſs among the Engliſh officers much leſs conſiderable. The king of England himſelf fought both on foot and on horſeback, both at the head of the cavalry and infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded by his ſide, and the duke d'Aremberg received a muſket-ball in his breaſt: the Engliſh loſt ſe-

veral general officers *. The battle lasted three hours with great inequality. Courage alone was opposed to valour, number, and discipline. At length marshal Noailles ordered a retreat; nor was it done without some confusion †. The king of England dined upon the field of battle, and then retired, without giving himself time to carry off the wounded, of whom he left about six hundred behind him, who were recommended by Lord Stair to M. Noailles's generosity. The French treated them like their countrymen: they behaved to each other with civility and respect; while, on the other hand, during this whole war, the Hungarians, less civilized indeed, shewed nothing but a spirit of rapine and barbarity.

The two generals wrote letters to each other, that plainly shew to what height politeness and humanity may be carried amidst all the horrors of a war. There are these words in a letter written by Lord Stair to marshal Noailles from Hanau, and dated June 30. "I have sent back all the French prisoners of whom I had any knowlege; and I have given orders for the releasement of all such as may have fallen into the hands of the Hanoverians.

* The generals Clayton and Murray were the only officers of distinction killed in the allied army. Among the wounded were the earl of Albemarle and general Huske.

† Had not the troops which the earl of Stair had detached in pursuit of the French, been countermanded, this battle would, in all probability, have been decisive; but the enemy were allowed to repass the Mayne without molestation, though a considerable number of them perished in that river, through the precipitation of their fear.

You

You will, I hope, permit me to thank you for the very generous behaviour you have ſhewn, which is, indeed, entirely conformable to the high opinion I always profeſſed to entertain for monſieur the duke de Noailles. I am, Sir, particularly obliged to you for the care you have ſo benevolently taken of our wounded."

Nor was this greatneſs of ſoul peculiar to the earl of Stair and the duke de Noailles. There was an act of generoſity of the duke of Cumberland's, that above all others ought to be handed down to poſterity. A muſketeer, named Girardeau, being dangerouſly wounded, was brought near his highneſs's tent; ſurgeons were much wanting; thoſe they had were taken up elſewhere: they were now going to dreſs the duke's leg, which had been wounded in the calf by a muſket-ball *: "Begin, ſaid he nobly, with the wound of that French officer; he is more dangerouſly hurt than I am, and ſtands in need of more aſſiſtance; I ſhall as yet want nothing." The loſs of both armies was nearly the ſame: there were 2231 men of the allies killed and wounded. This computation was taken from the account of the Engliſh, who ſeldom diminiſh their own loſs, and never augment that of the enemy.

This battle was not unlike that of Czaſlau in Bohemia, or that of Campo Santo in Italy. Great exploits were performed, much blood ſpilled, and neither ſide reaped any advantage. The loſs of the French was conſiderable, in

* It was a grape-ſhot, which penetrated through the fleſhy part of the leg.

blaſting, by a precipitate and diſorderly warmth, the fruits that might have been otherwiſe gathered from the fineſt diſpoſition imaginable: the battles of Creci and Poictiers had been loſt by conduct of a ſimilar nature. The king of England, who here acquired great honour, reaped no other benefit from the victory, than that of haſtily retiring from the field of battle to ſeek ſubſiſtence at Hanau. The author of this hiſtory meeting with Lord Stair ſome weeks after the battle, took the liberty to aſk him his opinion of it: "It is my opinion, ſaid that general, that you have committed one fault, and we two: yours was paſſing the hollow way, not having patience to wait: our two were, expoſing ourſelves firſt to the danger of being all deſtroyed; and ſecondly, not having purſued our victory, by making a proper uſe of it."

Never had man greater reaſon to complain than M. de Noailles, who ſaw himſelf by one precipitate moment cut off from all the glories of a battle that might have finiſhed the war: yet he did not complain; he recriminated upon nobody; his regard for his nephew outdid the care of his own juſtification. He ſatisfied himſelf with barely repreſenting to the king his maſter, in a letter as wiſe and eloquent as it was inſtructive, the great neceſſity there was for re-eſtabliſhing a proper diſcipline.

Many French and Engliſh officers went, after this action, to Frankfort, a town that always remains neuter, where the emperor had then retired; who ſaw one after another Lord Stair and marſhal de Noailles, without manifeſting

ſelling to them any other ſentiments than thoſe of patience in his days of evil fortune.

Marſhal Broglio's precipitate retreat from the frontiers of Bavaria, which was made about the ſame time, was attended with conſequences ſtill more dreadful to the emperor than thoſe of the battle of Dettingen. Marſhal Broglio, who had long been diſſatisfied with marſhal Seckendorff, the Bavarian general, had always declared both by letter and word of mouth, even before the campaign, that he could not keep Bavaria. He departed from thence about the end of June, at the ſame time nearly that the emperor, believing himſelf no longer ſafe at Augſburgh, took ſhelter at Frankfort, where he arrived the 27th at night, being the very day on which the battle was fought.

Marſhal Noailles found the emperor infinitely chagrined on account of marſhal Broglio's retreat; and, to augment his misfortunes, he was without ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his family, in an imperial town, where nobody would advance him any thing, though the head of the empire. Marſhal Noailles gave him forty thouſand crowns upon a letter of credit, being certain that the king his maſter would not diſapprove ſuch an action.

Marſhal Broglio had, on his retreating, left the emperor ſtill poſſeſſed of Straubing, Ingoldſtadt on the Danube, and Egra on the Eger, upon the confines of the Upper Palatinate, and they were all blockaded. There were, moreover, ſome Bavarian troops ſtill in Branaw, which place the Auſtrians had a long time neglected to beſiege in form; but being maſters of all

all the country round, it ſoon capitulated. Straubing, in which were twelve hundred French, immediately followed its example. Theſe twelve hundred men were conducted to the main body of the army, which was then quitting Bavaria, and directing its march towards the Neckar. When at length they arrived there, their number was dwindled away at leaſt twenty-five thouſand, more of whom were loſt by deſertion and ſickneſs, than the ſword of the enemy.

The putting the emperor Charles VII. in poſſeſſion of Vienna or Prague was now no longer meditated. They were obliged to turn their views to the defence of the French frontiers, threatened by two victorious armies, that of prince Charles and the king of England. France had, in three campaigns, ſent to the emperor's aſſiſtance in Bavaria and Bohemia upwards of an hundred and twenty-five thouſand fighting men; out of all which marſhal Broglio brought back about thirty thouſand. The emperor, plunged in the deepeſt deſpair, demanded of the king, that marſhal Broglio ſhould be ſent into exile: his majeſty thought himſelf under a neceſſity of giving his griefs that ſatisfaction; of giving that weak and ineffectual conſolation to his misfortunes.

One would be apt to think, that there muſt have been ſome radical defect in the conduct of this grand enterprize, in which ſuch repeated efforts had proved futile and abortive. Perhaps the failure aroſe from hence: the Bavarian emperor had neither ſtrong towns, nor good troops in his dominions; his authority over the French army

army was foreign and confined; and his bad ſtate of health rendered him incapable of puſhing the war vigorouſly againſt an enemy which was daily acquiring power; all theſe points conſidered, they were certainly much to his diſadvantage. A prince ſhould be able to act upon his own foundation who attempts to ſet on foot ſuch vaſt enterprizes; for never did any prince make a very important conqueſt barely by the help of another perſon.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The emperor Charles VII. undergoes freſh diſgraces. A new treaty among his enemies. Lewis XV. ſupports, at one and the ſame time, the emperor, the Infant Don Philip of Spain, and prince Charles Edward, who attempts to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors in England. The battle of Toulon.

THE emperor remained at Frankfort, to all appearance without either allies or enemies, nay indeed without ſubjects. The queen of Hungary had cauſed all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate to take an oath of allegiance to her, againſt which exacted oath the Bavarian emperor in Frankfort proteſted. A printer in the town of Stadamhof was condemned to be hanged in the market-place for having printed this proteſt made by his ſovereign. Nor did they ſtop at theſe inſults; for ſhortly after the council of Auſtria preſented to the imperial diet, even in the town of Frankfort, memorials, wherein the election of Charles VII. was treated as null, and abſolutely void. The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, to which dignity he had been advanced againſt the emperor's will, regiſtered theſe pieces in the Protocol of the empire. Charles could only complain, which he did by written remonſtrances, while, to finiſh his diſgrace, the king of England, as elector of Hanover, wrote him word, that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were

were in the right. In fine, they talked of forcing him to abdicate the imperial throne, and to reſign it in favour of the duke of Tuſcany.

In the mean while, the emperor having declared himſelf neuter, the allies were ſtripping him of his dominions; ſo that the king of France, who had on his account engaged in the war, had more reaſon than ever to proclaim he would no longer meddle with the affairs of the empire; and this was pronounced as his reſolution ſolemnly by his miniſter at Ratiſbon, July the 6th. Such a diſpoſition might, at any other time, have produced a ſeparate peace; but England and Auſtria wanted to improve their advantage. Theſe powers aimed at compelling the emperor to requeſt, that his enemy the grand duke of Tuſcany, ſhould be advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans; and they alſo flattered themſelves with hopes of being able to penetrate into Alſace and Lorrain. Thus do we ſee an offenſive war began at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defenſive one on the banks of the Rhine.

Auguſt 4th, prince Charles made a lodgement upon an iſland in that river near old Briſac: on the other ſide, ſome Hungarian parties had advanced beyond the Sarre, and committed ſome outrages on the frontiers of Lorrain. The ſame Mentzel, who had been the firſt that took Munich, had the inſolence to diſperſe a writing, under the name of a declaration or manifeſto, dated Auguſt the 20th, and addreſſed to the inhabitants of Alſace, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the three biſhoprics, inviting them to return, as he called it, to the obedience of the houſe of Auſtria: he alſo threat-

ened

ened to hang up all ſuch of them as ſhould take up arms againſt him, but that he ſhould firſt compel them, with their own hands, to cut off their noſes and ears. Such brutal ferocity produced only contempt: the frontiers were well guarded, and a detachment from prince Charles's army having paſſed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, Auguſt the 4th, by count de Berenger.

About the end of July, the army under marſhal Noailles encamped in the neighbourhood of Spire. Count Maurice of Saxony was in the Upper Alſace, at the head of a corps drawn from the remains of Broglio's army, and ſome troops draughted from the frontier towns. The duke d'Harcourt commanded on the Moſelle. The marquis de Montal defended Lorrain. Nor was it ſufficient to guard the frontiers only; an open war with England was foreſeen, and alſo with the king of Sardinia, who had not as yet indeed concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, but was not therefore the leſs cloſely attached to its intereſt.

The king of France, now deſerted by Pruſſia, was in much the ſame ſituation as his great grandfather had been formerly, united with Spain, againſt the forces of a new houſe of Auſtria, England, Holland, and Savoy. He therefore cauſed ſeveral ſhips of war to be built and fitted out forthwith at Breſt; he augmented his land-forces, and reinforced Don Philip with twelve thouſand men: how ſmall an aſſiſtance when compared to the numbers he had laviſhed in the ſervice of the Bavarian emperor! but in effect more uſeful, becauſe they ſeconded the

enterprizes

enterprizes of a young prince who depended upon the power of Spain to ſecure him an eſtabliſhment. The king, not content with ſuccouring his allies, and ſecuring his frontiers, reſolved alſo in perſon to head his army in Alſace; and to that end had cauſed his field-equipage to be got in readineſs. He acquainted marſhal Noailles with his deſign, who anſwered him in theſe words: "Your majeſty's affairs are neither ſo proſperous nor ſo declining as to require your taking ſuch a ſtep at preſent." He advanced other reaſons, and the king admitted them, being determined to make the next campaign afterwards.

Out of the various conqueſts the French arms had made for the emperor, there now remained to him only Egra in Bohemia, and Ingolſtadt in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube.

The extremities to which the French in Egra were reduced, by far exceeded what they had ſo cruelly ſuffered in Prague. For eight months they had ſcarcely taſted any bread, and if any of the ſoldiers ventured but ever ſo little into the country to gather pulſe, they were killed by the Pandours. They had neither proviſions, money, nor hope of being aſſiſted. The marquis de Herouville, who commanded in the town with ſix battalions, cauſed ſome temporary money to be coined, as had been formerly done at the ſiege of Pavia in the reign of Francis I. This of Egra was a bit of pewter, valued at half a ſous. It ſtood, indeed, in the place of ſilver, but could not remedy the want of proviſions. The marquis Déſaleurs ſent them a convoy, but it was taken by the

the beſiegers. The garriſon was at length obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war: the officers and ſoldiers were diſperſed through Bohemia and Auſtria, where they found many of their countrymen. There had been more than nine thouſand French taken in the courſe of three years, who found themſelves very rigorouſly treated; the ſpirit of revenge being united to the ſeverity of war, and ſharpened by national animoſity.

The defenders of Ingolſtadt were more fortunate. M. de Grandeville, who commanded a garriſon of about three thouſand men, obtained not only liberty to retreat in ſafety, but even compelled general Bernklau, who beſieged him, to grant a free paſſage to the French who were ſcattered in different towns in Bavaria under his command. This is the firſt inſtance of a garriſon's capitulating for other troops beſides themſelves. In the mean time, neither the king of England nor prince Charles could make any impreſſion on the Rhine againſt the French; and the remainder of the campaign juſtified what marſhal Noailles had ſaid to the king, that his affairs were neither flouriſhing nor deſperate. All the belligerant powers were by turns agitated by fear and hope; each had its loſſes and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the ſcourge of peſtilence, and prepared for that of war; not without ſtanding at the ſame time in fear of ſome conſpiracies in favour of the houſe of Auſtria.

The king of Naples, having augmented his army to twenty-ſix thouſand men, employed twelve thouſand of them in ſecuring the frontiers

tiers of Calabria againſt the progreſs of the peſtilence, which was done by forming a chain of vaſt extent: the reſt of his army remained on the borders of Abbruzzo, waiting a favourable opportunity to act in conjunction with the Spaniſh army, then commanded by the duke of Modena, and count de Gages. The city of Naples, now put into a proper ſtate of defence, no longer feared the inſults or orders of the Engliſh captains of men of war. Don Philip, in Savoy, waited either to come to an accommodation with the king of Sardinia, or to ſubdue him with the aſſiſtance of France. The king of Sardinia, after having long cautiouſly weighed both the danger and advantage, imagined it now more his intereſt than ever to join with Auſtria and England againſt France. Although he had aſſiſted the cauſe of the queen of Hungary for more than a year, he had not as yet become her ally; he at length declared himſelf ſuch, however, in a formal and efficacious manner, at Worms, on the 13th of September, 1743; a treaty of alliance which was founded entirely on the bad ſucceſs of the French arms in Germany.

This monarch gained poſſeſſion of the Tortoneſe, the Vallais, part of the Novareſe, and the territorial ſuperiority of the fiefs of Langhes, by taking arms againſt the queen of Hungary's father; and, by declaring on the ſide of the daughter, he acquired the Vigevanaſco, the remainder of the Novareſe, Parma, and Placentia. The Engliſh, who had heretofore allowed him a ſubſidy, gave him by this treaty two hundred thouſand piſtoles a year, which is upwards of four hundred thouſand of livres: he

was then at the head of thirty-ſix thouſand men, and the Engliſh fleet under admiral Matthews was ſtationed upon the coaſt, and always at hand to ſecond his undertakings; but he miſſed of the fruits he might have gathered from this advantage, and verified the old maxim, "A half is ſometimes better than a whole."

By this treaty the queen of Hungary ceded to him the marquiſate of Final, which belonged to neither of them: it was the property of the Genoeſe, who had purchaſed it of the late emperor for one million two hundred thouſand crowns, of which no care was taken to reimburſe them; for, though the king of Sardinia offered them that ſum, it was only on condition that they ſhould rebuild the caſtle which they had demoliſhed, whereby they would have been at a much more conſiderable expence. This liberal diſpoſal of other people's property gained France one ally more. Genoa had long been ſecretly attached to her ſervice, and ſhe now linked herſelf to it more cloſely than ever. The harbour of Genoa might be of great utility, and the Engliſh fleet could not block it up always. Thus the king of Sardinia reduced the Genoeſe to the neceſſity of becoming his declared enemies, and opened the way to a dangerous diverſion againſt himſelf; for Don Philip, having now a ſecond time made himſelf maſter of Savoy, September 18, 1742, propoſed to paſs the Alps; and that the Spaniſh and Neapolitan armies ſhould join in the Bologneſe, or even in Lombardy.

The chance of war was therefore to decide, whether the two brothers, Don Carlos king of Naples, and the Infant Don Philip, ſhould penetrate

metrate into the midſt of Italy; or whether, on the other hand, the king of Sardinia ſhould, on one ſide, guard the paſſage of the Alps, while, on another, the queen of Hungary ſhould ſeize upon the kingdom of Naples, although a manifeſt violation of the neutrality ſubſiſting between her and Don Carlos.

In the mean while, England and Auſtria reckoned, that, in the approaching ſpring, they ſhould be able to attack France in Alſace and Flanders; and the war was now about to be renewed on all ſides with greater violence, without there being any open rupture, except that between England and Spain on account of the commerce in America; a rupture which ſeemed to have no relation to the intereſts which divided Europe: but yet it influenced them in a moſt eſſential manner.

The emperor Charles VII. ſtripped of every thing, had now no ſeeming reſource left; yet the king of France prepared really to aſſiſt him; and the king of Pruſſia, notwithſtanding the treaty of Breſlau, and the defenſive alliance ſubſiſting between him and the king of England, was yet more in the intereſt of the emperor, as he had no longer any room to doubt that the court of Vienna had an intention, the firſt fair opportunity, to attempt the recovery of Sileſia. The courts of France and Pruſſia were now again on the point of joining in the common cauſe, and for the intereſt of an emperor, who ſeemed on every hand abandoned or oppreſſed.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the king of France determined to declare war againſt the king of England and the queen of Hungary: he had no longer any meaſures to keep with the

Engliſh, by whom his ſhips were continually inſulted; nor with Auſtria, who threatened to carry the war into France, and would not give up a ſingle priſoner, though the terms had been ſtipulated by cartel in 1741.

The firſt effect of this change was a ſecret and bold enterprize, which would have quickly given a new face to one part of Europe, had it been ſucceſsful.

The houſe of the Stuarts, which, for the ſpace of fifty-four years, had pined in exile far diſtant from the kingdoms of which it had been ſtripped, had ſtill many ſecret partizans in Scotland and Ireland; nor was it without ſome few in England. Prince Charles Edward, grandſon to James II. and ſon to that prince who has been ſo long known to all Europe by the title of the Pretender, joined to all the ardour of youth, and reſentment of his condition, the moſt enterprizing and determined courage: he had been often heard to ſay, he would have either a crown or a ſcaffold. France, which had long been the aſylum of that family, became now neceſſarily its chief ſupport; and there was a probability, that Lewis XV. might, in his firſt campaign, have reſtored the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain. January 9, the young Prince Edward left Rome, and ſet out upon his expedition with a ſpirit of ſecrecy and diligence that marked him born for great enterprizes: he concealed his journey from a brother whom he loved affectionately, and who would not have ſuffered him to have proceeded without accompanying him. On the 13th he arrived at Genoa diſguiſed like a Spaniſh courier; and the day after he

he embarked for Antibes, attended only by one ſervant, landed ſafely, and ſoon reached Paris; nor were the neceſſary preparations made in France, for conducting him to the Britiſh coaſt, carried on with leſs ſecrecy.

The efforts which France now made could hardly have been expected by England, conſidering the low ſtate in which the French marine had been for ſome years ſunk. She fitted out twenty-ſix ſhips of war at Rochefort and Breſt, with incredible diligence, and a report was ſpread, that this ſquadron was to join a Spaniſh fleet which had lain at Toulon upwards of two years, and where it was blocked up by admiral Matthews. Twenty ſhips of war ſet ſail from Breſt, carrying four thouſand land-forces, with arms and ammunition in proportion; and they were joined between Uſhant and Sorlingues by five ſail from Rochefort, commanded by M. du Barail.

This fleet having entered the Britiſh channel, divided itſelf into three ſquadrons: the ſtrongeſt, conſiſting of fourteen veſſels, cruized off the coaſt of Kent; the ſecond was to ſtation itſelf between Calais and Boulogne; while the third bent its courſe towards Dunkirk. Count Saxe was at the head of this expedition. The firſt of March he embarked at Dunkirk, with nine battalions; as did count de Chaila, with ſix more, the day following.

Prince Edward was on board the ſame veſſel with count Saxe, and for the firſt time had a ſight of the deſired land. But a violent ſtorm ariſing, drove the tranſports back upon the French coaſt, and many ſoldiers periſhed endeavouring to gain the ſhore. The young prince

would have again attempted the paſſage with a ſingle veſſel. He imagined that his courage and reſolution would gain him ſubjects the moment he ſhould arrive in Great Britain. But the ſea, as well as the diſpoſitions made along the Engliſh coaſt to prevent his landing, hindered him from making the attempt.

The court of London was informed of this enterprize ſo early as the fifteenth of February. The Dutch, as allies to king George, had already ſent over two thouſand men * to his aſſiſtance, and were to furniſh ſix thouſand, according to their treaty of 1716. Admiral Norris, with a formidable ſquadron, was in the Downs, which preſent a continued chain of ports along the Kentiſh coaſt, where ſhips ride ſecure from bad weather. The militia was alſo raiſed; and thus miſcarried an enterprize which had been conducted with more art than any conſpiracy that had ever been ſet on foot in England; for king George knew there had been a plot, but could never diſcover the authors of it. No inſight was gained in this matter from the perſons who were taken into cuſtody at London, and the government re-

* The Dutch ſent no men to England until the rebellion was actually begun in 1745. Our author gives but a lame account of this French expedition to the coaſt of England. The truth is, Sir John Norris, at the head of a powerful ſquadron, had, by taking advantage of the tide, againſt the wind, got within ſix miles of the French fleet, and in all probability would have given a good account of it in the morning, had not a violent tempeſt afforded them an opportunity of bearing away in the night, without any danger of being purſued: but they never thought proper to repeat the attempt.

mained

mained as before involved in trouble and perplexity.

Every thing contributed at this time to favour the undertaking. The Engliſh troops were abroad, diſtributed in different parts of the Auſtrian Netherlands. There was likewiſe another advantage attending it. It employed the Engliſh fleet, which was to reinforce admiral Matthews, and it was alſo concerted that his fleet ſhould be engaged by the men of war which France was to leave in the Mediterranean; which for that purpoſe were to join the Spaniſh fleet which was to ſail from Toulon at the time that prince Edward was landing in Great Britain.

There were now actually at Toulon ſixteen Spaniſh ſhips of war, which were at firſt intended to eſcort Don Philip to Italy; but they had been blocked up for two years by admiral Matthews's fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and inſulted all the coaſts of Italy and Provence. The Spaniſh gunners, being but indifferently ſkilled in the ſcience they profeſſed, had been for four months exerciſed in ſhooting at a mark, and their induſtry and emulation excited by prizes.

When theſe were ſuppoſed ſufficiently expert, the Spaniſh ſquadron commanded by Don Joſeph Navarro, ſailed from the road of Toulon. It conſiſted indeed of but twelve ſail, there not being ſailors and gunners enough to man the reſt. They were ſoon joined by fourteen French ſhips of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ſhips, commanded by M. de Court, who had all the vigour, both of mind and body, neceſſary to ſuch a command, though fourſcore

years of age. Forty years before, he had commanded as captain on board the admiral's ſhip in a ſea-fight off Malaga, and there had been no naval engagement ſince in any part of the world, that of Meſſina excepted, which was fought in 1718. Admiral Matthews ſet ſail to meet the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain. It may not be amiſs to remark here, that the degree of admiral in England does not anſwer to the dignity of admiral in France. There are three admirals in the Engliſh ſervice, each of whom has his ſeparate diviſion, ſubſervient to the orders of the lord high admiral, or the board of admiralty.

Matthews's fleet conſiſted of forty-five ſail, five frigates, and four fire-ſhips; and to the advantage of number they alſo joined that of having the wind; a circumſtance on which the ſucceſs in a ſea-fight often depends, as much as a victory by land does upon the advantage of ground. The Engliſh were the firſt who drew up a fleet for engaging in the manner at preſent practiſed; other nations have learned from them to divide their ſquadrons into van, rear, and center. You are not to imagine, that theſe diviſions are three lines; on the contrary, they form only one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the center in the middle, ſo that the veſſels never preſent more than one ſide.

This was the order of battle off Toulon. The ſhifting of the wind threw the Spaniards into the rear. Admiral Matthews, ſtill taking advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his diviſion. There ſhould never be more ſpace between the veſſels than ſixty fathoms; at this

diſtance they are as cloſe as they ſhould be, and then one veſſel can be in no danger of being attacked by many. But it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itſelf ſo as to obſerve this order exactly. The Spaniſh ſhips were too far from each other. Two of them were diſabled by the very firſt broadſides; and Matthews had an opportunity of falling upon the Spaniſh admiral with ſeveral of his ſhips. This veſſel, on board of which was Don Joſeph de Navarro, was called the Real: ſhe carried a thouſand men, and was bored for an hundred and ten pieces of cannon; her upper works were amazingly ſtrong, the planks, together with the ribs, being at leaſt three feet in thickneſs, ſo that they were impenetrable to a cannon-ball *. It is alſo proper to take notice, that the Engliſh fire more at the rigging than the hull, preferring the diſabling and ſeizing upon a ſhip to ſinking her.

The Spaniſh admiral was at one and the ſame time attacked by the admiral and four ſhips of the line, who poured upon him jointly a moſt dreadful fire. Matthews depended upon making her a very eaſy capture, relying upon his own great experience in naval affairs, and the Spaniards not being uſed to them, as well as Navarro's being a land-officer, redoubled his hopes. Every Spaniſh ſhip alſo being attacked at once by more than one of the enemy, there

* M. de Voltaire ſeems to be little acquainted with the doctrine of reſiſtance. If the battery is within point blank, and mounted with battering cannon, the ſhot will penetrate twice the thickneſs here deſcribed. And as for his obſervation, that the Engliſh fire chiefly at the rigging, it is expreſly contrary to fact.

was a probability of their being overpowered. Every man on the deck of the Royal Philip was either killed or wounded. The captain of the admiral's ſhip was mortally wounded, and Don Navarro being wounded in two places, was obliged leave the deck.

Chevalier de Lage, a French officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, and ſecond captain of the admiral's ſhip, maintained the fight againſt five Engliſh veſſels. Admiral Matthews was aſtoniſhed at the quickneſs with which the Spaniards fired their lower tier of guns, which violently annoyed every thing that came within reach, ſo that he diſpatched a fire-ſhip to deſtroy her. Theſe kind of veſſels are filled with gunpowder, granadoes *, and other combuſtibles; and they faſten upon an enemy's ſhip with grappling irons. The moment they are faſt together, they ſet a match to the train of the fire-ſhip, while the crew haſtens to the boat, and the captain is the laſt who enters it. In the mean time, the fire taking place, the ſhip is blown up by the force of the powder, together with the veſſel to which it is grappled.

This engine of deſtruction was within fifteen paces of the Royal Philip, when ſome of the officers propoſed to ſtrike and ſurrender: "You have forgot then, ſaid M. de Lage, that I am on board!" when pointing with his own hand three pieces of cannon againſt the fire-ſhip, they took place, and the veſſel was near going to the bottom. The unhappy captain ſeeing his deſtruction inevitable, determined at

* There is no ſuch thing as granadoes aboard any fire-ſhip.

leaſt

leaſt to avenge himſelf at the moment of his death. He ordered fire to be ſet to the train, hoping that he might yet work down upon the Royal Philip, and blow her up along with himſelf. But it was too late; the ſhip was ſoon in flames, and blew up within ſeven or eight feet of the Spaniſh admiral, the deck of which was covered with the wreck. M. de Lage ſays he ſaw the body of the Engliſh captain and ſome ſailors reduced in a moment to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as a cork. The Royal Philip did not receive the ſlighteſt damage * from this violent exploſion.

M. de Court, who hoiſted his flag on board the Terrible, and fought in the center, was at one time engaged with three ſhips within piſtol-ſhot. He did the enemy a great deal of miſchief, and getting clear of them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh admiral and fleet. The Engliſh could only make themſelves maſters of one ſingle Spaniſh ſhip called the Poder, which was entirely diſmaſted. They had already ſent ſome of their hands on board to navigate the veſſel, and the remainder of her crew, conſiſting of four hundred Spaniards, were obliged to ſurrender. Matthews was at this time retreating; and the Engliſh on board the Poder, being buſied in ſecuring their prize, were themſelves made priſoners. Superiority of numbers was of no ſervice to the Engliſh fleet; for their rear, commanded by vice-admiral Leſtock, was at four miles diſtant.

* The failure of the fire-ſhip was entirely owing to the miſconduct of the captain who commanded the ſhip which was ordered to cover her on going down to the enemy.

Whether Leſtock, at variance with Matthews, would have willingly deprived him of the glory of the day, or whether Matthews did not chuſe to ſhare with him that glory, is a queſtion we cannot here decide. Be that as it may, a briſk wind ſpringing up from the Weſt in the night, obliged the fleets to ſeparate, and each drew off to repair their damage. The Engliſh retired into Portmahon, the French into Carthagena, and the Spaniards into Barcelona.

This action of Toulon, like almoſt all ſea-fights, that of la Hogue excepted, was quite indeciſive. In theſe engagments it commonly happens that the only fruit of great preparations, and indefatigable contention, is the ſlaughter of many men, and diſabling veſſels. There were complaints from all parties; the Spaniards ſuppoſed they had not been ſufficiently ſupported, and the French accuſed them of want of gratitude. Though there was an alliance between the two nations, there had not been always unanimity. Their antient antipathy was ſometimes kindled in the breaſts of the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the agreement of their kings. On the other hand, Matthews preferred complaints againſt his vice-admiral to the government, and ſent him home to be tried. He retorted the accuſation upon the admiral, to whoſe bravery and conduct M. de Court publicly ſubſcribed, and he repaid the compliment. If his fate was hard in being accuſed of miſbehaviour by his own officers, it was, however, glorious for him to be acquitted by the enemy. However, to gratify the Spaniards, the French commandant was baniſhed to his country-houſe, two leagues from Paris: and

the

the Engliſh admiral, being, after a long trial, brought in guilty, was, by a council of war, which is in England called a court-martial, declared for ever incapable of ſerving the crown *.

The cuſtom of judging ſeverely, and of ſtigmatizing unſucceſsful generals, had been lately brought into Chriſtendom from Turkey. The emperor Charles VI. had given two examples of it in his laſt war againſt the Turks, which war was looked upon by all Europe to have been as injudiciouſly planned, as it was unfortunately fought. The Swedes, ſince that, condemned to death two of their generals, whoſe fate all Europe lamented; nor did this ſeverity make their domeſtic government happier or more reſpectable. A ſubject ſo important deſerves to be dwelt upon a little.

The government of France, directed by principles of greater lenity, are ſatisfied with inflicting only a ſlight diſgrace upon their general officers, for that very conduct which would induce other ſtates to lay them in irons, or cut off their heads. To me it is very plain, that neither juſtice nor well-founded policy require that the life of a general ſhould depend upon bad ſucceſs; ſurely unleſs he be a rebel or a traitor he will do his utmoſt, and there is no ſort of equity in cruelly puniſhing a man who

* The iſſue of this court-martial was indeed very extraordinary, and the conduct of Leſtock very problematical. The officer who had diſplayed the greateſt courage and ſpirit, poſſibly not ſufficiently tempered with conduct, ſcarce eſcaped ſuffering an ignominious death for cowardice; while the rear admiral, who had kept aloof during the whole engagement, and hazarded the deſtruction of his ſuperior and half the fleet, by diſobeying ſignals, was acquitted with honour.

has acquitted himſelf to the beſt of his abilities; nor is it, perhaps, found policy to introduce the cuſtom of proſecuting a general who is unfortunate; becauſe in that caſe, thoſe who begin a campaign indifferently in the ſervice of their natural prince, may be tempted to conclude it in that of the enemy.

The conſequences, however, proved, that the advantage in the Toulon engagement was on the ſide of France and Spain. The Mediterranean was left open, at leaſt for ſome time, and Don Philip was eaſily ſupplied with proviſions, which he much wanted, from the coaſt of Provence: but neither the French nor Spaniſh ſquadrons were able to make head againſt Matthews, when he returned to his ſtation, having refitted his ſhips. France and Spain, being under a neceſſity of always ſupporting a very numerous land-army, have not that inexhauſtible fund of ſailors which are the reſource of Great Britain's power: it was now more evident than ever, that it was of vaſt importance to that crown to keep Minorca, and the loſs of it very prejudicial to Spain. It was a melancholy conſideration, that thoſe iſlanders ſhould have been able to deprive the Spaniſh monarchy of a port ſtill more uſeful than Gibraltar; and which from its ſituation gave them always the power to harraſs, at one and the ſame time, Spain, Italy, and France. Spain, which poſſeſſed harbours in Africa, in ſpite of the Moors, yet could not hinder the Engliſh from keeping ports in her own dominions, and that againſt her will.

END of the FIRST PART.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR of 1741.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The prince of Conti forces the paſſage of the Alps. Situation of affairs in Italy.

IN the midſt of all theſe ſtruggles, Lewis XV. declared war againſt the king of Great Britain, and ſoon after againſt the queen of Hungary, who in return declared it alſo againſt him in form; but theſe declarations, on both ſides, were little more than additional ceremonies. Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip was at the head of twenty thouſand Spaniards, under the command of the mar-

quis de la Mina, and the prince of Conti had with him twenty thouſand French; both theſe leaders inſpired their troops with that confidence and reſolution ſo neceſſary for penetrating into a country where a ſingle battalion may ſtop a whole army, where you are every inſtant obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where all theſe obſtacles are heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had ſerved as a lieutenant-general in the unſucceſsful war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and underſtood the conſequence of thoſe diſappointments to which an army is expoſed almoſt every campaign. He had not as yet ſeen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a very different manner from what it is in open countries; but he had prepared himſelf for this expedition by a conſtant application of ten hours in a day, during the winter which he paſſed at Paris. He knew even the ſmalleſt rock, and was perfectly maſter of all that had been performed under marſhal Catinat and the duke of Vendôme, as if he had been preſent himſelf.

The firſt of April the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti paſſed the Var, a river which falls from the Alps, and empties itſelf into the ſea of Genoa below Nice. The whole country of that name ſurrendered; but, before they could advance any farther, they were under a neceſſity of attacking the intrenchments near Villa Franca, and thoſe of the fortreſs of Montalban, in the midſt of rocks which form a long chain of almoſt inacceſſible ramparts. There was no poſſibility of marching but thro' narrow defiles, and over frightful precipices, expoſed.

expoſed to the enemy's artillery. Full in the front of this fire, they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock, and even on the Alps they had the Engliſh to encounter. Admiral Matthews, having carcened his ſhips, was returned to aſſume the empire of the ſeas: he landed with ſome of his men at Villa Franca, who joined the Piedmonteſe; and his gunners ſerved the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his meaſures ſo well, and his troops were ſo full of ſpirits, that they ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles. The marquis de Biſſy at the head of the French, and the marquis of Campo Santo at the head of the Spaniards, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the enemies batteries, which flanked the paſſage of Villa Franca. M. de Mirepoix and M. d'Argouges opened another way for themſelves: they made four falſe attacks where they had no intention to penetrate; but M. de Biſſy made two ſuch briſk aſſaults againſt thoſe places which he intended to carry; every thing was ſo well concerted, ſo quick, and ſo vigorouſly puſhed; M. d'Argouges, at the head of the regiments of Languedoc, and of the iſle of France; and M. du Barrail with his regiment, made ſuch prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards.

On the one ſide, M. du Chatel and M. de Caſtelar aſcended through very narrow bye-ways to an eminence called Mount Eleus, from whence they drove the Piedmonteſe; on the other ſide, the marquis de Biſſy fought for two hours on the top of a rock called Monte Groſſo.

When

When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, and ſaw that they muſt either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers; they aſſiſted each other with ardour; and, joining their efforts, they battered down the intrenchments of the enemy. This rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a ſecure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmonteſe, with ſeventeen hundred men, were taken priſoners, and two thouſand were killed. The marquis de Suze, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to M. de Biſſy. The top of the mountain, on which the marquis du Chatel had taken poſt, commanded the enemy's entrenchments; ſo that at length they were obliged to fly to Oneglia, to the number of three thouſand men, and embark on board admiral Matthews's fleet, who was witneſs of the defeat. The count de Choiſeul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had diſtinguiſhed himſelf. They advanced from poſt to poſt, from rock to rock: they took the citadel of Villa Franca, and the fort of Montalban, where they found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with proviſions in proportion. But all this was no more than dividing the dominion of the Alps, and fighting on the top of high mountains.

While theſe paſſes were thus forcing in favour of Don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the dominions to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of Modena was alſo as far from retaking the country of that name, as the infant from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The Auſtrians

Auſtrians and the Piedmonteſe were maſters every-where, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and count Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering together the remains of the Spaniſh army, which was ſtill retiring before the Auſtrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer obſerve an unfortunate neutrality, which had been greatly abuſed, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore ſet out for Naples, to put himſelf at the head of his army. The queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Cajeta the latter end of April 1744; and it was even propoſed to remove her to Rome, in caſe of any unlucky blow, or of an inſurrection in Naples, with which the Auſtrians affected to frighten him. Such was the viciſſitude of affairs, that the queen of Hungary, who three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herſelf very near making a conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifeſto ready, copies of which he afterwards ſpread through the kingdom towards the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addreſſed herſelf to the inhabitants of the two Sicilies, as to ſubjects to whom ſhe was granting her protection.

England at this time exerted herſelf more than ever in this queen's cauſe; ſhe augmented her ſubſidies, and ſpent upon the war of this year 1744 two hundred and ſeventy-four millions nine hundred and ſixty-four thouſand livres, French money; and this expence was augmented

augmented every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean, which entirely ruined the trade of Provence: ſhe recalled the troops that fought at Dettingen back to Flanders; and theſe, joined to the Flemiſh and Dutch regiments, formed, in the beginning of the campaign, an army of above ſixty thouſand men. Prince Charles, with the like number of forces, was coming to make another attempt to paſs the Rhine. The emperor, whoſe neutrality was imaginary, while his misfortunes were but too real, preſerved the ſhattered remains of his army under the cannon of the imperial city of Philipſburgh; and waited for his fate at Frankfort, uncertain whether he ſhould be maintained in poſſeſſion of the imperial crown by France, or ſtripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

First campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders: his ſucceſſes: he leaves Flanders to fly to the defence of Alſace, invaded by the Auſtrians, whilſt the prince of Conti continues to force a paſſage thro' the Alps. New alliances. The king of Pruſſia once more takes up arms.

SUCH was the critical and dangerous ſituation of affairs when Lewis XV. began his firſt campaign. He had appointed marſhal Coigni to defend the paſſage of the Rhine with ſixty-one battalions and one hundred ſquadrons. The Bavarian troops, conſiſting of near twelve thouſand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, an officer on whom they at that time had the greateſt dependence. Marſhal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which conſiſted of ſixty-eight battalions and ninety-ſeven ſquadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marſhal of France, and commanded a ſeparate corps, compoſed of thirty two battalions and fifty-eight ſquadrons, alſo complete: thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above eighty thouſand fighting men.

There ſtill remained on the banks of the Rhine and Moſelle ſeventy-five battalions and one hundred and forty-ſix ſquadrons, excluſive of the army in Italy, thirty thouſand militia, the garriſons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the Heſſians. This ſituation, eſpecially in Flanders, was very different from

what

what it had been the preceding year at the death of cardinal Fleury. The Engliſh might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage; but now they came too late; and the Dutch, who refuſed to engage with them when this enterprize was eaſy, now took a ſhare in it when it was become impracticable.

The king choſe rather to make the campaign in Flanders than in Alſace, ſuppoſing that upon the Rhine the war would be only defenſive; whereas every thing was diſpoſed for making it offenſive in the Auſtrian Netherlands.

As it was not known that he had been ready the preceding year to head his army in perſon, ſo it was a long time before the public knew that he was to ſet out for Flanders; with ſuch ſecrecy did he conduct even thoſe things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people, who have been governed eight hundred years by the ſame family, to love their king; beſides, he had only one ſon, the dauphin, who was not yet married; all theſe circumſtances gave riſe to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breaſts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighbourhood of Lille, and made ſome new regulations for the eſtabliſhing of military diſcipline; a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted. His aids-de-camp were Meſſrs. de Meuze, de Richelieu, de Luxemburg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubiſe, and de Pequigny. The enemy were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, who, like the earl of Stair, had been bred under the duke of Marlborough,

Marlborough, and was well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had ſerved a great many campaigns: the Engliſh had great expectations from his experience and abilities. The duke of Aremberg, of the houſe of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had ſpent great part of his life at the court of France, where his perſon was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight againſt them. He was trained up under prince Eugene, had ſerved againſt the Turks and the French, and was not a little inſtrumental to the ſucceſs of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, in both which he was wounded at the head of his troops.

Count Maurice of Naſſau, who commanded the Dutch, was a deſcendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Naſſau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince dying before he could fulfil the promiſe of marriage which he had made to his miſtreſs Madame de Mechelin, his poſterity were deprived of the honours annexed to his houſe.

Thoſe three generals had it in their power to oppoſe the king's deſigns, had they been united; but the Dutch were temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand, they were ſtrongly preſſed by the Engliſh to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the ſpace of two months, againſt any power that ſhould attack either of the two nations: on the other hand, they flattered

tered themſelves with keeping the appearances of moderation, even in war itſelf; and were arming againſt the king, at the ſame time that they were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed count de Waſſenaar to Lewis, a perſon agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankneſs and complaiſance, with other amiable qualities, had procured him a great many friends. The count uſed the moſt reſpectful and the moſt inſinuating language to the king, deſiring protection for his perſon, and peace for Europe.

The king anſwered: "The choice, Sir, which the ſtates general have made of you on this occaſion, cannot but be very agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your perſonal merit. My whole conduct towards your republic, ſince my acceſſion to the crown, has been ſuch as ſhould have convinced her how deſirous I was to maintain a ſincere friendſhip and perfect correſpondence with her.

"I have long and ſufficiently made known my inclination to peace; but the more I have delayed to declare war, the leſs ſhall I ſuſpend its operations. My miniſters will give me an account of the commiſſion with which you are charged; and after I have communicated it to my allies, I ſhall let your maſters know my ultimate reſolutions."

The eighteenth of May the king made himſelf maſter of Courtray, a ſmall town, which had an Auſtrian garriſon. The day following, the Dutch ambaſſador ſaw him inveſt Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin.

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as ſome journaliſts are pleaſed to call it: on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's maſter-pieces. He built this fortification with ſome regret, foreſeeing that one day we ſhould be obliged to ſurrender it to ſtrangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitred the place ſeveral times: he even approached within piſtol-ſhot of the paliſade, with marſhal Noailles, count d'Argenſon, and all his court. The trenches were opened the 29th of May. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty louidores to be diſtributed among thoſe who worked at the attack towards the gates of Ipres, and a hundred to thoſe who worked towards the gate of Lille. At the aſſault commanded by prince Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmoſt rapidity; and they drained the inundations made by the beſieged. The covert-way was taken the fourth of June; the fifth the town capitulated, and was the firſt which the king took in perſon. The commanding-officer was permitted to march out with all military honours *.

The king thought proper to demoliſh the fortifications of this town, in which ſuch great ſums had been expended. This was at once ſhewing an inſtance of moderation to the ſtates-general, by letting them ſee he did not intend to make uſe of this fortreſs againſt them; and was taking ſome revenge, and teaching them

* It is diverting enough to hear a Frenchman expatiate on the conqueſt of Menin, which was ſcandalouſly given up, almoſt without oppoſition.

to

to ſhew a greater reſpect to France, by demoliſhing one of their barriers.

The very next day the king cauſed Ipres to be inveſted; and while preparations were making for the ſiege, he aſſiſted at a *Te Deum* in Liſle, ſuch as had never been ſeen on thoſe frontiers. Three princeſſes of the blood, whoſe huſbands, brothers, ſons, or ſons-in-law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The ducheſs of Modena had accompanied her nephew the duke of Chartres into Flanders, along with the duke of Penthievre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter; while her huſband the duke of Modena was at the head of the Spaniſh army in Italy. The ducheſs of Chartres had followed her huſband; and the princeſs of Conti, whoſe ſon was at that time upon the Alps, and whoſe daughter was married to the duke of Chartres, accompanied thoſe two princeſſes.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St. Germain des-Préz, commanded the principal attacks at the ſiege of Ipres. There had been no inſtance, ſince the cardinals de la Valette and de Sourdis, of a perſon in whom both profeſſions, the gown and the ſword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permiſſion from pope Clement XII. who thought fit that the church ſhould be ſubordinate to the army in the grandſon of the great Condé. They ſtormed the covert-way of the front of the lower town; but this action has been cenſured as premature and too hazardous. The marquis de Beaveau, major-general, marched to the aſſault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Royal-Comtois, where he received

ceived a wound, which gave him the moſt excruciating pain, and proved mortal. His death was regretted by all the officers and ſoldiers, as a perſon whom they thought capable of commanding one day the armies of France; and lamented by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit: he was one of the moſt curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very ſcarce medals; and was, at that time, the only man of his profeſſion that cultivated this kind of knowlege.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way, and carried it. Ipres ſoon capitulated. Every moment was improved; for whilſt the king's troops were taking poſſeſſion of Ipres, the duke of Boufflers reduced fort Knock; and during a viſit, which the king made after theſe expeditions, to the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid ſiege to Furnes, which capitulated the fifth day after opening the trenches.

The allied army beheld the progreſs of the French, without being able to oppoſe it. The body of troops commanded by marſhal Saxe was ſo well poſted, and ſo effectually covered the army of the beſiegers, that they could not but be certain of ſucceſs. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations: thoſe of the French army were all concerted. Marſhal Saxe was poſted at Courtray, where he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the beſiegers. A numerous train of artillery, which was eaſily brought from Douay; a regiment of artillery, conſiſting of near five thouſand men, full of officers capable of conducting a ſiege, and compoſed of ſoldiers

moſt of them very able artiſts; in ſhort, a very conſiderable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had haſtily united only to wage war together for a few years. Eſtabliſhments of this kind muſt be the fruit of time, and of the conſtant attention of a powerful monarchy. The French will ever be ſuperior in a war whoſe operations conſiſt chiefly in ſieges.

In the midſt of all theſe ſucceſſes, advice came that the enemy had paſſed the Rhine towards Spire, within ſight of the French and Bavarians; that Alſace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorrain expoſed. At firſt, no-body would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by alarming the French in ſeveral places, and making different attempts at one and the ſame time, at length ſucceeded on the ſide where count Seckendorff was poſted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Heſſians.

This paſſage of the Rhine, which did ſuch honour to prince Charles, was entirely owing to his diligence, and the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other ſide of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Philipſburg, covered by that fortreſs, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that ſhould preſent themſelves on that ſide. General Nadaſti advanced towards him, while the other diviſions of the Auſtrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at bay. The Bavarians withdrew, and repaſſed the Rhine: marſhal Coigni was obliged to entruſt count Seckendorff to guard the banks

banks of the river towards Germerſheim and Rinſabeau: the count undertook to defend them; and this was the very place where prince Charles paſſed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had ſucceeded Mentzel, who was killed a few days before: this man advanced ſoftly towards a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by ſeveral boats loaded with Pandours, Waradins, and Huſſars. He ſilently reached the other ſide of the river towards Germerſheim: about ſix thouſand men paſſed in this manner; and having advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments, whom they defeated, and put to flight. Prince Charles cauſed a ſecond bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops paſſed without oppoſition. Marſhal Coigni, being informed of this diſaſter, diſpatched his ſon and the marquis de Croiſſi in all haſte with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Chatelet Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the beſt regiments: they all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themſelves amidſt the moraſſes; and had no other reſource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Thoſe three officers preſſed general Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy: they repreſented to him the important moment, the advantage of ſituation, and the ardour of the troops. The count at firſt promiſed to march, but afterwards changed his opinion: in vain did they inſiſt upon his complying: he anſwered, that he was better informed than they; and

The king took his route by St. Quintin, la Fere, Laon, and Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the ſoldiers pay and ſubſiſtence; an attention which encreaſed the love of his ſubjects. He arrived at Metz the fifth of Auguſt, and the ſeventh tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, reſtored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous ſituation than any ſhe had yet been in.

One would imagine that this princeſs had nothing to fear from the king of Pruſſia, after the peace of Breſlau; and eſpecially after a defenſive alliance, concluded, the ſame year as the treaty of Breſlau, between that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, having united againſt the emperor by the treaty of Worms; the northern powers, and eſpecially Ruſſia, having been ſtrongly ſolicited to come into this alliance; the progreſs of the queen of Hungary's arms encreaſing daily in Germany; from all theſe circumſtances, it was plain, ſooner or later, that the king of Pruſſia had every thing to fear. At length he determined to renew his engagements with France; the treaty had been ſigned ſecretly the fifth of April; and afterwards a ſtrict alliance was concluded at Frankfort, betwixt the king of France, the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the elector Pala-

fine, and the king of Sweden as landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. Thus the ſecret union of Frankfort was a counterpoiſe to the projects of the union of Worms, and on both ſides they exhauſted every reſource of policy and war.

Marſhal Schmettau arrived, on the part of the Pruſſian monarch, to inform the king of France, that his new ally was marching towards Prague with an army of fourſcore thouſand men, and that two and twenty thouſand Pruſſians were advanced as far as Moravia. At the ſame time advice was brought of the freſh progreſs which the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps; but, notwithſtanding the ſcaling of thoſe mountains at Montalban and Villa Franca, and the victories obtained among thoſe precipices, they had not as yet been able to open a paſſage on that ſide: they could not advance, for want of ſubſiſtence, through thoſe defiles, and over thoſe rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by ſoldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk, in ſeveral places, on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was waſhed by the ſea, and where they were expoſed to the artillery of the Engliſh fleet. Beſides, the Genoeſe had not yet ſigned their treaty; the negotiations were ſtill depending; ſo that the thorns of politics retarded the progreſs of the French arms. They opened themſelves, however, a new road on the ſide of Briançon towards the valley of Suza, and at length they penetrated as far as Chateau Dauphin.

The bailiff de Givri led nine French battalions of the regiments of Poitou, Conti, Sales, Provence, and Brie, betwixt two mountains. The count de Campo Santo † followed him, at the head of the Spaniards, through another defile. Givri ſcaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thouſand Piedmonteſe entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the firſt that ſcaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewiſe one of the firſt that mounted this rock; but this was a more ſanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The aſſailants had no artillery, and were expoſed to the cannon of the Piedmonteſe. The king of Sardinia was in perſon behind the intrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givri was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur, being informed that a paſſage of equal importance had been juſt then luckily found out, ſent orders for a retreat. Givri obeys; but both the officers and ſoldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaps into the firſt entrenchments; the grenadiers dart themſelves one upon the other; and, what is hardly credible, they paſs through the embraſures of the enemy's cannon, at the very inſtant when the pieces, having fired, were recoiling by

† The count de Campo Santo bore this name and title ever ſince the battle of Campo Santo, where he did ſurpriſing feats: his name was his reward, as the name of Bitonto was given to the duke of Montemar after the battle of Bitonto. There is no title more glorious than that of having gained a battle.

their

their ordinary motion. The French loſt near two thouſand men, but not one Piedmonteſe eſcaped.

The king of Sardinia, in deſpair, attempted to throw himſelf into the midſt of the aſſailants; and it was with difficulty he was withheld. Givri loſt his life; colonel Salis and the marquis de la Carte were killed; the duke de Agenois, and a great many others were wounded: but it coſt them a great deal leſs than they might have expected in ſuch a ſituation. The count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and ſteep defile where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, general of the Spaniſh army under Don Philip: "Some opportunities will offer, in which we ſhall behave as well as the French; for it is impoſſible to behave better." I commonly tranſcribe the letters of general-officers, when I find they contain any intereſting matter; for which reaſon I ſhall inſert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action. "It is one of the moſt glorious and moſt obſtinate engagements that ever was fought: the troops have ſhewn ſuch valour as ſurpaſſes nature. The brigade of Poitou, with Monſieur d'Agenois at their head, have gained immortal glory.

"The bravery and preſence of mind of M. de Chevert contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the chevalier de Modene, to your Majeſty. La Carte is killed: your majeſty, who knows the value of friendſhip, muſt be ſenſible how greatly I am affected with this loſs." Let me be permitted to ſay, that ſuch expreſſions from

a prince to a king, are leſſons of virtue to the reſt of mankind.

While they were taking Chateau Dauphin, they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the Barricadoes. This is a paſs of about three fathoms wide, between two mountains which rear their heads to the ſky. The king of Sardinia had turned the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into this precipice: the poſt on the other ſide of the river was defended by three entrenchments and a covert-way. It was neceſſary then for the French to make themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Demont, which had been built at an immenſe expence on the top of a rock, that ſtood by itſelf in the middle of the valley of Stura, before they could become maſters of the Alps, from whence they would have a view of the plains of Piedmont. Theſe barricadoes were forced with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Chateau Dauphin: they took them almoſt without ſtriking a blow, by putting thoſe who defended them betwixt two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage, called the *day of the barricadoes*, that had induced the marquis de Villemur to order a retreat from before Chateau Dauphin. This general officer and the count de Lautrec having executed the enterprize of the barricadoes with more than ordinary ſucceſs, as it was not attended with the loſs of any of the king's troops, was deſirous to ſpare the effuſion of human blood before Chateau Dauphin; becauſe, after forcing the barricadoes, this fortreſs muſt fall of itſelf: but the bravery of the king's troops tranſported them farther than was expected, and in two days

days time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricadoes, and by Chateau Dauphin, was laid open.

The ſurmounting of ſo many obſtacles towards Italy, a powerful diverſion made in Germany, the king's conqueſts in Flanders, and his march into Alſace, had removed the public apprehenſion, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into a conſternation.

CHAP. III.

The king's illneſs. His life is in danger. As ſoon as he recovers, he marches into Germany. He lays ſiege to Friburg, while the Auſtrian army, that had penetrated into Alſace, marches back to the relief of Bohemia; and the prince of Conti gains a battle in Italy.

THE very day that *Te Deum* was ſung at Metz for the taking of Chateau Dauphin, the king was attacked with ſome ſymptoms of a fever; this was on the 8th of Auguſt. His illneſs increaſing, turned to a malignant diſorder; and the 14th at night his life was thought to be in danger. He had a very ſtrong conſtitution, hardened by exerciſe; but the moſt robuſt bodies are the ſooneſt overcome by ſuch diſtempers. The news of the king being in danger ſpread deſolation from town to town, the people flocked from every ſide of the country about Metz, the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who by their different reports increaſed the general inquietude.

The 14th in the evening, the queen received an expreſs from the duke de Gevres, who informed her of the great danger his majeſty was in. The queen, the dauphin, and his ſiſters, and all about them, were in tears; the whole palace and town of Verſailles reſounded with lamentations. The royal family ſet but poſt that very night, without the leaſt preparations. The queen, who was accuſtomed to give away her

her money in acts of generoſity, had not enough about her to defray the expences of her journey: they were therefore obliged to ſend in the middle of the night to the receiver-general of the finances at Paris for a thouſand louidores. The ladies at court followed the queen without a ſingle ſervant; the ſtair-caſes, the court-yards, and the avenues, were filled with innumerable crouds of people, who followed the queen's coaches at a diſtance, ſome with mournful cries, and others in ſilent conſternation. The news was immediately ſpread through Paris; the people left their beds, and ran up and down the ſtreets, without knowing where they were going; ſome repaired to the ramparts, where they might ſee the royal family paſs by at a diſtance; others flock to the churches; there is no longer any diſtinction of the time of ſleep, of waking, or of reſt; all Paris is in conſternation; the houſes of the officers at court are beſieged by a continual croud; the people gather in the public ſquares, and break out into a general cry, "If he dies, it is for having marched to our aſſiſtance."

And indeed his illneſs was owing to his expoſing himſelf too much, on his march, to the ſcorching heat of the ſun; for the ray that ſtruck him, darted with ſuch violence as to burn his thigh. They repreſented to themſelves what he had done in his firſt campaign; their concern was not owing to the misfortunes they might have reaſon to fear; no, they were too much grieved to have any foreſight. Their affection deprived them of their underſtanding; ſtrangers accoſted one another and aſked queſtions in church; the prieſt, as

he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, mingled his prayer with his tears; and the people anſwered him with ſobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, deſiring them to *pray for the king*; and theſe carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were ſome people in Paris who fainted away, and others who were ſeized with a fit of illneſs, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city magiſtrates appointed couriers, who every three hours brought them tidings of his condition. The ſuperior courts ſent to Metz: each had their couriers, who were paſſing continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris they were ſtopped upon the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The phyſicians who attended the king ſent word every three hours how his majeſty did, to ſatisfy the people, who read thoſe certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St. Dizier, where ſhe found her father Staniſlaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they deſpaired of his life. The general concern was then at the greateſt height; they thought the king was dead, and the rumour was ſpread through all the neighbouring towns. But he was treated in a very proper manner by his phyſicians, to whom ſuch diſorders are familiar, and who, joining reaſon with experience, knew extremely well that the whole conſiſts only in letting nature operate freely; that, when this method does not ſucceed, we muſt leave our days to him who has

counted

counted them; all the reſt being only a falſe art, which impoſes on human weakneſs.

The queen arrived the 17th, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The courier, who brought the news of his recovery, was embraced and almoſt ſuffocated by the people; they kiſſed his horſe; they led him about in triumph through all the ſtreets, which reſounded with cries of joy, "the king is recovered:" Strangers embraced each other; they ran to proſtrate themſelves in the churches; there was not ſo much as a company of tradeſmen, but gave order for *Te Deum* to be ſung. The king ſtill kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of theſe ſurprizing tranſports of joy which had ſucceeded to ſuch ſcenes of ſorrow. This affected him ſo much as to draw tears from his eyes; when deriving ſtrength from his ſenſibility, he raiſed himſelf up in his bed, and ſaid, "Oh, what a pleaſure it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deſerve it?"

The firſt days of his recovery were diſtinguiſhed by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barricadoes of the defiles of Stura, which ſeemed impenetrable, and after the taking of Chateau Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont: here he took every entrenchment, and at length reduced twelve hundred men, who defended this laſt fortreſs of the Alps, to ſurrender at diſcretion.

This news pleaſed the king, and comforted him in his recovery. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never loſt ſight of the

the intereſt of his people. Marſhal Noailles at that time had the chief command of the army in Alſace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illneſs hindered him from conducting in perſon. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to prince Charles, who had ſent his flying parties as far as Lorrain: and notwithſtanding the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was ſtill taken up with the expectation of an engagement; ſo that when he thought himſelf in danger of dying, he ſaid to count d'Argenſon, who never ſtirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illneſs: "Tell marſhal Noailles from me, that while they were carrying Lewis XIII. to the grave, the prince of Condé obtained a victory." But marſhal Noailles could only fall upon the rear of prince Charles's army, which was retiring in good order, and cut off about eighteen hundred men. In this ſkirmiſh, which coſt France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orleans, grand prior of France, and M. de Fremur were dangerouſly wounded.

Prince Charles, after having paſſed the Rhine in ſpite of the French forces, repaſſed it, almoſt without any loſs, within ſight of a ſuperior army. The king of Pruſſia complained moſt bitterly againſt their letting an enemy eſcape, who was coming to wreak their vengeance upon him. Here indeed they miſſed a lucky opportunity. The king's illneſs had retarded the march of the troops; beſides, they muſt have paſſed through a difficult moraſs to attack prince Charles, who had taken all his precautions, ſecured his bridges, and contrived

every

every thing that could facilitate his retreat, inſomuch that he did not loſe a ſingle magazine. Having therefore repaſſed the Rhine with fifty thouſand men complete, he marched towards the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and, after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Straſburg, he haſtened to deliver Bohemia a ſecond time. The king of Pruſſia advanced towards Prague, and inveſted it the 4th of September: and it is ſomewhat remarkable, that general Ogilvi, who defended the town with fifteen thouſand men, ten days after ſurrendered himſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war. This was the ſame governor who gave up the town in leſs time in 1741, when it was ſtormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thouſand Auſtrians being thus made priſoners of war at the taking of the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the kingdom being ſubdued a few days after, Moravia invaded at the ſame time, the French army returning to Germany, and other ſucceſſes attending their arms in Italy; in ſuch a ſituation one would have imagined that the grand European quarrel was on the point of being decided in favour of the emperor. This prince was preparing to return to Munich, as ſoon as he could receive intelligence that the road was left open, by prince Charles's repaſſing the frontiers of Bavaria in his march to the aſſiſtance of Bohemia. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, having acceded to the union of Frankfort, had already three thouſand men in the pay of the king of France, and was to furniſh him with ſix thouſand more. The elector Palatine was always of that party.

The elector of Saxony, who had been in the firſt alliance againſt the queen of Hungary, might now renew it; and to this he was ſtrongly ſolicited by the king of Pruſſia, who promiſed him ſix circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himſelf, thoſe of Konigſgratz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France, there was very little left for the emperor: and this was a new partition of the territories of the houſe of Auſtria. He offered a principality in the empire to count Bruhl, prime miniſter of Saxony; at the ſame time he promiſed father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confeſſor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity; and among the pleaſures of his ſucceſſes he reckoned he ſhould enjoy that of ſeeing a Jeſuit introduced into the ſacred college by a proteſtant prince. The appearances were favourable, when prince Charles was yet in Alſace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with ſuperior forces.

The king's ſickneſs, as we have obſerved, diſconcerted this project, which one would have imagined impoſſible to miſs; though indeed its ſucceſs ſeemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminiſh very much in his precipitate march towards Bohemia: and ſcarce had the Auſtrians quitted Bavaria, when the king gave orders for the ſiege of Friburg, the bulwark of Upper Auſtria, which marſhal Coigni inveſted the thirtieth of October.

The king's phyſicians all adviſed him not to expoſe himſelf to the unwholeſome air of that province, after ſo dangerous an illneſs, but to turn to Verſailles. He did not mind their advice,

advice, being determined to finiſh the campaign. While he was at Straſburg, where his reception was one of the moſt magnificent ceremonies ever beheld, the marquis de Biſſi arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti had laid ſiege to Coni *: and the king of Sardinia, with a ſuperior army, attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprize: it was on one of thoſe occaſions where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few reſources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he loſt it, the town was ſtill able to hold out in this advanced ſeaſon, and he had a very ſafe retreat. The diſpoſition of his army was one of the moſt judicious ever known; for having leſs cavalry by one half than the beſiegers, and more infantry by half, he made his attack in ſuch a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry was not at all to ſuffer. And yet he was beaten †; the French and Spaniards, notwithſtanding

* Coni is a town of Piedmont, ſituated between the Geez and the Stura, at the foot of the Alps. It is populous, commercial, and opulent, and equally ſtrong by the nature of its ſituation, its works, and its citadel.

† He maintained the battle without flinching till night; when finding it impracticable to face the enemy's intrenchments, he retired in good order to his camp at Muraſſo. He afterwards threw a reinforcement of men, and a ſupply of proviſions, into Coni, which enabled Baron Leutrum, the governor, to hold out the place till the approach of winter, when the chevalier de Soto entered the place with a reinforcement of ſix hundred freſh men. The beſiegers were

ſtanding the national jealouſies which uſed conſtantly to riſe upon the ceſſation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who ſupport each other, and with the emulation of rivals that are deſirous of ſetting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia loſt near five thouſand men, and the field of battle; the Spaniards loſt only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes: the prince of Conti, who commanded as a general and fought as a ſoldier, had his cuiraſs pierced through with two ſhot, and two horſes killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of meſſieurs de Senneterre, de la Force, and de Chauvelin, on the ſignal ſervices of monſieur de Courten, on thoſe of meſſieurs du Caylus, de Choiſeul, de Beaupré, and of all thoſe who had behaved gallantly; deſiring they ſhould be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of officers, who deſerved the commendations of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters of meſſieurs de Montmorenci, d'Agenois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quarter maſter general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major general of the army. This hiſtory would be only one continued liſt of names, was I to recite all the

were no ſooner informed of this incident than they abandoned their enterprize, and marched back to Demont, leaving their ſick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmonteſe.

brave

brave actions, which, becoming common from their great number, are continually loſt in the croud.

This new victory was likewiſe one of thoſe which are productive of loſſes, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time, the rigor of the ſeaſon, the great quantity of ſnow, the inundation of the Stura, and the overflowing of the torrents, were of more ſervice to the king of Sardinia, than the gaining the battle of Coni was to Don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and to repaſs the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of thoſe who fight towards the Alps, and have not the maſter of Piedmont on their ſide, to loſe their armies even by their victories.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The ſiege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in Germany and Italy.

IN this wet ſeaſon the king was before Friburg. Of all the ſieges he had made, this was the moſt painful and the moſt dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the channel of the river of Treiſſau, and to open a new bed for it of two thouſand ſix hundred fathom; but no ſooner was this work completed, than a dyke broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The beſiegers were expoſed to the fire of the caſtle of Friburg, and obliged at the ſame time to drain two arms of the river. The bridges erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were expoſed to an inceſſant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole companies periſhed by the ſpringing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant-general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major-generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aid de camp; and count Lowendahl, who would alſo be at the ſiege as a volunteer, was wounded on the head with a muſket-ſhot. This foreigner was a native of Denmark, and had been in the Ruſſian ſervice: it was he that took

Ockzakow

Ockzakow from the Turks *. He ſpoke almoſt all the European languages, was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, their genius, the character of the people, and their different methods of fighting; however, he preferred the ſervice of France, where from his reputation he was immediately received as lieutenant-general.

The beſiegers were not the leaſt diſcouraged, but carried the greateſt part of the covert-way, and the day following they made themſelves entirely maſters of it, notwithſtanding the bombs, patteraroes, and grenadoes, with which the enemy inceſſantly annoyed them. There were ſixteen engineers at thoſe attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubiſe had his arm broke by a ſtone; which as ſoon as the king heard, he viſited him ſeveral times, and ſaw his wounds dreſſed. This ſympathy in their ſovereign encouraged the troops; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardſhips of the ſiege, and generouſly ventured his life. Their ardour was redoubled, when they followed the duke de Chartres, the firſt prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. General Damnitz, governor of Friburg, did not hang out the white flag till the 6th of November, after a ſiege of two months †.

* The reduction of Ockzakow was chiefly, if not entirely, owing to the gallantry of our countryman general Keith, who commanded the attack in perſon; and notwithſtanding a dangerous wound in his thigh, mounted the breach, and with his own hand planted the Ruſſian ſtandard on the ramparts of the place.

† The defence of this place redounded greatly to the honour of Damnitz, who had been bred a dancing-maſter.

Count

Count d'Argenſon drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Friburg. It was ſtipulated, as a favour granted from the king to general Damnitz, that he ſhould have leave to retire with his garriſon, his ſick and wounded, into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had ſigned the capitulation, that this permiſſion would prove fatal to him, that the citadel could not hold ſuch a number of men, that they would be crouded upon one another, and more expoſed to the enemy's cannon, and, in ſhort, that his ſick muſt infallibly periſh: he therefore begged of them not to grant him ſo dangerous a favour; but the permiſſion was then become an obligation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was however granted for twenty days; at the expiration of which term the citadel was beſieged, and taken in ſeven days. The king uſed the ſame policy at Friburg as at Menin; he demoliſhed the fortifications of the town, neither wanting to keep poſſeſſion of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken ſome day by the Auſtrians, and proving a thorn in his ſide. This was one of thoſe towns which Lewis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterwards was obliged to ſurrender. It is true, that, according to the plan ſo often defeated, Friburg and Upper Auſtria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor: but it was then foreſeen that he would not keep poſſeſſion of this country. The king indeed was maſter of all Briſgau: the prince of Clermont, on his ſide, was advanced as far as Conſtance: and the emperor at length had the leaſure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favourable turn, though they

advanced

advanced but ſlowly. The prince of Conti demoliſhed the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by ſtorm. The king of Naples was purſuing prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diverſion made by the king of Pruſſia; but they were diſappointed; fortune changed ſides again, as ſhe had often done during this war, and prince Charles drove the Pruſſians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Pruſſians committed the very ſame miſtakes, and made the ſame kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with: they ſucceſſively evacuated the different poſts which led to Prague, and at length they were obliged to evacuate Prague itſelf.

Prince Charles, after having paſſed the Rhine within ſight of the French army, paſſed the Elbe the ſame year within ſight of the king of Pruſſia. He followed him even into Sileſia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Breſlau. At length it became a queſtion, whether the queen, who ſeemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Sileſia in the month of December, the ſame year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but juſt returned to his deſolate capital, ſhould be once more obliged to leave it.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in favour of Maria Thereſa, againſt whom he had joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of Naples ſurprized at Velletri, in the neighbourhood of Rome.

THE Auſtrians indulged themſelves in theſe hopes from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the leaſt revolutions in the whole war; namely, the ſtep then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This ſame prince, who at firſt had joined the king of Pruſſia againſt the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princeſs againſt Pruſſia, and had already furniſhed her with about twenty thouſand men. In purſuing this meaſure he did not intend to declare war againſt king Frederic, but only to aſſiſt the queen, juſt as the ſtates general had joined with her againſt France, without declaring war. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great intereſt in making the queen of Hungary and the new houſe of Auſtria more powerful; nay, it ſeemed ſtrange that he ſhould chuſe rather to aggrandize that houſe, than to raiſe himſelf upon its ruins; but a particular pique betwixt him and the king of Pruſſia, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehenſion of the riſing grandeur of the houſe of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dreſden.

The

The king of Pruſſia had ſcarce ſet his hand to his treaty in April 1744 with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland ſigned his agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May: he promiſed to aſſiſt her with thirty thouſand men, and the queen yielded to him a part of Sileſia, which ſhe hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince pretended ſome antient rights, as all the German princes have ſome pretenſions or other to the territories of their neighbours. England paid him a ſubſidy of a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling every year, ſo long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of ſurprize, that a king of Poland and elector of Saxony ſhould be reduced to accept of this money, it was a much greater ſurprize that England ſhould be able to give it, when ſhe had granted this very year five hundred thouſand pounds to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thouſand pounds to the king of Sardinia, and at the ſame time ſhe paid a ſubſidy of twenty-two thouſand pounds to the elector of Cologn, for permitting the enemies of the emperor his brother to raiſe troops againſt him in the territories of Cologn, Munſter, and Oſnabruck; to ſuch a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced! The paſſage of prince Charles had ſtruck the borders of the Rhine with terror and amazement; and the Engliſh gold did the reſt. At this conjuncture the Auſtrians, aſſiſted by their new allies the Saxons, menaced Sileſia: they likewiſe threatened French Flanders with Engliſh and Dutch ſuccours.

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of marſhal Saxe by twenty thouſand men. This general employed all thoſe reſources of war which are entirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To encamp and decamp at proper opportunities; to cover our own country; to maintain an army at the enemy's expence; to remove upon their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back; in ſhort, to baffle ſuperior ſtrength by ſkill; this is what is looked upon as one of the maſter-pieces of the military art; and this marſhal Saxe did from the beginning of Auguſt to the month of November *.

The quarrel about the Auſtrian ſucceſſion was every day growing more obſtinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the reſpective intereſts more complicate, while the ſucceſſes of each party were generally counterpoiſed by thoſe of the oppoſite ſide.

France had on her ſide in Germany, the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the landgrave of

* The army of the allies amounted to ninety thouſand effective men, and there was nothing to obſtruct their march to Paris, which might have been performed in three days, except the ſmall body commanded by count de Saxe, which did not exceed five and twenty or thirty thouſand at moſt; theſe too he was obliged to ſecure by double intrenchments. The Engliſh general Wade was ſuperannuated: his partner in command, the duke d'Aremberg, is ſaid to have been unwilling to give umbrage to the French king, great part of his fortune lying within the territory of Liſle, where they were now encamped. The Dutch were averſe to any bold enterprize; and the train of artillery was retarded by ſome fatality.

Heſſe

Heſſe Caſſel, and the elector palatine, by the treaty of Frankfort: but the Pruſſians were then buſy in defending themſelves. Heſſe was always ready to ſell troops to England, as well as to France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving aſſiſtance; and, beſides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Auſtria was ſtill the predominant power in Germany, eſpecially having the ſuccours of Saxony and of the Dutch, with the troops and ſubſidies of Great Britain. The reſt of the empire ſtill neuter, though a great part were well affected to the houſe of Auſtria, in all their memorials complained of this civil war which laid waſte their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many; yet, on the other hand, it is no leſs true, that this war really enriched Germany, while it ſeemed in appearance to ruin it. The French and Engliſh money, which was ſcattered among them with ſuch profuſion, remained in the hands of the Germans: Frankfort eſpecially, ſo long the reſidence of the imperial court, of ſuch a number of miniſters, princes, and generals, had made immenſe profits; Dreſden, which had furniſhed proviſions a long time to the French and Auſtrian armies in their turn, had thereby enriched itſelf; and, upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and conſequently muſt, ſooner or later, render it more powerful. It was not ſo in regard to Italy, which, moreover, cannot form, for any conſiderable time, a powerful body like Germany. France had not ſent to the Alps more than forty-

two battalions and thirty-three ſquadrons, which, conſidering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compoſe above a body of twenty-ſix thouſand men. The infant's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, far from enriching a foreign country, drew their whole ſubſiſtence from the provinces of France. With regard to the pope's territories, on which prince Lobkowitz was then encamped with thirty thouſand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich. This part of Italy was going to become a bloody ſcene in this vaſt military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples towards the months of March, April, and May, 1744; and, had it not been for the prudent conduct of count Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general finding that his army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and theſe new troops grew inured to diſcipline: at length, by temporizing, he obliged prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army alſo waſting away, to retire from Abruzzo towards Rome.

This city had beheld, ſince the month of July, an engagement in her neighbourhood betwixt the Auſtrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were at Velletri, antiently the capital of the Volſci, and now the reſidence of the dean of the ſacred college. The king of the two Sicilies was lodged in the palace of Ginetti, which is reckoned a ſtructure of magnificence and taſte.

Prince

Prince Lobkowitz made the ſame attempt upon Velletri, as prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in 1702; for hiſtory is no more than a ſeries of events repeated with ſome variety. Six thouſand Auſtrians entered Velletri in the middle of the night: the main guard were ſlain: thoſe who reſiſted, were cut in pieces; and thoſe who made no reſiſtance, were made priſoners: in ſhort, terror and alarm were ſpread every-where. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken; the marquis de l'Hoſpital, ambaſſador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noiſe, runs to the king, and ſaves him; no ſooner had the marquis quitted his houſe, when it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena and the ambaſſador, puts himſelf at the head of his troops, without the town; the Auſtrians break into the houſes; general Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabatini, that prince's miniſter, who had been formerly in the ſame regiment with himſelf. "Is it not true," ſaid this miniſter to him, "that you grant me my life, and will content yourſelf with making me your priſoner." While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very ſame thing happened as at Cremona; the Walloon guards, a regiment of Iriſh, and another of Swiſs, repulſed the Auſtrians, ſtrewed the ſtreets with dead bodies, and retook the town. M. Sabatini, ſeeing this revolution from his window, ſaid to the Auſtrian general; "'Tis I now that grant you your life, and 'tis you that are my priſoner." A few days after, prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat to-

wards Rome, whither he was purſued by the king of Naples. The former marched towards one gate of the city, and the latter towards the other: they both paſſed the Tiber within ſight of the people of Rome, who from the ramparts enjoyed the ſpectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome under the name of the count of Puzzuolo: his guards ſtood with their drawn ſwords in the ſtreets, while their maſter was kiſſing the pope's toe. The two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whoſe inhabitants thanked heaven that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was from the beginning the chief aim of the court of Spain; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France; and that on both ſides the ſucceſs was ſtill extremely dubious.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war becomes more violent than ever.

IMMEDIATELY after the taking of Friburg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they had been afraid of loſing. He remained three days in his capital, to ſhew himſelf to the inhabitants, who wanted no other return for their zeal than the pleaſure of beholding him, and this was what he could not in gratitude refuſe: he dined in the Hotel de Ville, whoſe ſquare was adorned with thoſe magnificent decorations which make us wiſh for more durable monuments: he was ſerved at table, according to cuſtom, by the provoſt of the merchants, and the dauphin by the firſt *Echevin*.

On this occaſion, it was obſerved, that the inſcriptions of the Hotel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin; though, indeed, theſe interpreters of the people's joy ought to be ſuch as they can underſtand. In Germany, England, and the North, they pique themſelves for making inſcriptions and devices in French, which ought to be a hint to our nation to ſhew the ſame honour to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, at his return from the campaign, had no miniſter of foreign affairs, having been his own miniſter at the army. To fill this

place, he choſe ſucceſſively two men who had no thoughts of it. The firſt was M. de Villeneuve, who, during his embaſſy to the Ottoman Porte, had negotiated a peace between the Turks and the laſt emperor of the houſe of Auſtria: he was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wiſe man; a character which he ſtill maintained by his ſenſibility of his preſent condition: having no ambition to deceive himſelf, or to imagine he had ſtrength above his age, he refuſed the employment. The ſecond was the marquis d'Argenſon, the elder brother of the ſecretary of war. By this favour the king ſurprized the two brothers.

The only inducement the king had for giving away a place, which, according to the maxims of common policy in moſt courts of Europe, ſeems to require leſs virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honeſt man. Theſe two miniſters were deſcended from one of the moſt antient houſes of Touraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have for ſome years been joined to the antient honours of the ſword. Their father, who had been keeper of the ſeals, and miniſter of the finances, was a genius equal either to the command of an army or directing the police of a ſtate; a man of piercing wit, great intrepidity, and unwearied aſſiduity; one who would unravel the moſt knotty affairs; a declared enemy to trivial forms, which little minds are ſo fond of; in ſhort, a man ſuperior to party, fear, or intereſt. At the time the government wanted money, he paid back an hundred thouſand [illegible] into the royal treaſury, which were his [illegible] as miniſter of the finances; and when he acted

acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king was acquainted with, contributed greatly to the promotion of his ſons.

One of the firſt affairs that came before the miniſter of ſtate, was an adventure in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of ambaſſadors, and of the conſtitutions of the empire, than any exerciſe of the right of war.

The king, ſtill true to his engagements with the emperor, had ſent marſhal Belleiſle, with full powers from himſelf and from the emperor, to Munich, and from thence to Caſſel and Sileſia. He was coming from Munich, the imperial reſidence, with the chevalier his brother: they had been at Caſſel, and were continuing their journey, without any diſtruſt, through a country where the king of Pruſſia has ſeveral poſt-houſes, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neuter and inviolable. While the marſhal and his brother were changing horſes at one of thoſe poſt-houſes, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arreſted and ill uſed by an Hanoverian meſſenger, and ſoon after removed to England. The duke of Belleiſle was a prince of the empire, and in this quality this arreſt might have been conſidered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times, emperors would have puniſhed ſuch an indignity; but any inſult might have been offered to Charles VII; all he could do, was to complain.

The Frer
time to the
every right
conſidered a
miniſter of
imperial an
were not a
undoubted
was looke
of France
his broth
Frankfor
France a
of Fran
The mi
preſſing
new aff
Meſſieu
were t
cordin
cour
th
hu
re
p
C
H
oa
fo
en
de
of
leſ
hu
of

after his elevation to the imperial throne; and nature from that time proved even more unkind to him than fortune: a complication of acute diſorders filled his days with bitterneſs, and brought him to the grave. He had both the gout and the ſtone: upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his ſtomach mortified, with ſtones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded, that for ſome time he muſt have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in ſtate, dreſſed after the old Spaniſh mode, according to the regulation of Charles V. though there has been never a Spaniſh emperor ſince that princ[illegible] Charles VII. had no manner of relati[illegible] nation. He was buried accordin[illegible]erial ceremonies; and, with all th[illegible] vanity and human miſery, they [illegible]lobe of the world before him, wh[illegible] ſhort reign, was not even poſſeſ[illegible] unhappy pr[illegible]ce. They gave hi[illegible] Invincib[illegible] reſcripts pub-l[illegible]young el[illegible]n, a title by [illegible]ked to [illegible] dignity, and [illegible]ſerved [illegible] world of the [illegible] of hi[illegible]d it.

[illegible]her, [illegible] Cologn, would [illegible]ad hi[illegible]out that this elec-[illegible] was [illegible] prince of Munſter, [illegible], might have raiſed [illegible]e a good one required [illegible] muſt have laid up mo-[illegible] regularly trained, and [illegible]plined; but all this he [illegible]ways foreſeen that Auſtria

would reſume the ſuperiority, which indeed was the reaſon of his neutrality during this whole war: this occaſioned great complaints againſt him; but the event juſtified the conduct he was obliged to obſerve.

It was then believed that, as the cauſe of the war no longer ſubſiſted, peace would be reſtored to Europe: they could not offer the empire to the ſon of Charles VII, who was then only ſeventeen years of age; they flattered themſelves in Germany, that the queen of Hungary would ſeek for peace, as the ſureſt means of, at length, placing her huſband, the grand duke, upon the imperial throne: but ſhe would obtain this throne, and alſo continue the war. The Engliſh miniſtry, who gave the law to their allies, becauſe they gave them money, ſupplying, at the ſame time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they ſhould be loſers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war: they had no difficulty to inſpire Maria Thereſa with the ſame confidence, ſo as to flatter herſelf that ſhe ſhould be able to beat both France and Pruſſia. The paſſage of the Rhine and of the Elbe in one campaign had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon either his ſon-in-law the infant Don Philip, in Italy; or the young elector of Bavaria, in Germany; or the king of Pruſſia, who was returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, becauſe it was begun: the object of it was now no longer the ſame as in the beginning; it was one of thoſe maladies whoſe ſymptoms alter when they grow

grow inveterate. Flanders had been reſpected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now become the principal theatre of war; and Germany was conſidered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France caſt an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper perſon for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aſpire to this dignity, but he might likewiſe render it ſubſervient to the enriching his family with a part of the Auſtrian inheritance, which he had at firſt attempted to acquire by the ſword. At leaſt, by detaching him from his new alliance with Auſtria, there was a probability of giving a greater ſuperiority to the king of Pruſſia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept of terms of peace. But the Saxon miniſter choſe rather to ſee his maſter an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna: the king of Poland might have had the imperial crown, but he would not accept of it.

This refuſal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared ſo aſtoniſhing to Europe, did not at all ſurprize thoſe who were acquainted with his court, and with the ſtate of his affairs. They perſuaded him, that he would find it very difficult to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They repreſented to him that he would run the riſk of loſing a throne, which he might ſecure to his poſterity: and that, after all, he was not ſure of carrying his point in competition with the great duke of Tuſcany. The example of the elector

elector of Bavaria had convinced him how difficult it is for a prince who is not of himself very powerful, to ſuſtain the weight of the imperial crown; and that a grandeur, not founded on its own ſtrength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation. In ſhort, this prince, whether he was not ſtrong enough, or whether he was reſtrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dreſden, and Warſaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England; inſtead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the imperial crown on her huſband's head, and to give every thing to thoſe, to whom at firſt he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other reſource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the deciſion of ſo many different intereſts, which had ſo often changed, and whoſe different mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joſeph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third from father to ſon whoſe rights had been maintained by France: they had reſtored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the imperial crown for his father, and now made a freſh effort to ſupport this young prince. Six thouſand Heſſians in French pay, three thouſand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which have been a long time in the French ſervice, had joined the Bavarian forces which, were ſtill maintained by the king. To render theſe ſuccours effectual, the Bavarians ought to have done their beſt to defend themſelves; but it was their fate

to be always beaten by the Auſtrians. They defended the entrance of their country ſo very ill, that in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that ſame capital from which his father had been ſo often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to ſuch a degree, that it was not able to ſupply forage to the French troops who were coming to the elector's aſſiſtance. The Heſſians were mercenaries, who, though they would accept of French money, did not care to fight. The 10th of April general Braun declared to count Segur, commander in chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Segur found himſelf deſerted by the very people he was come to aſſiſt; and he could not rely on the Heſſians, who had ſhewn ſuch backwardneſs.

To complete the diſgrace of the French, count Seckendorff, who ſtill commanded the Bavarian army, correſponded with Auſtria, and was negotiating a ſecret accommodation, whereby he ſurrendered the houſe of Bavaria to the diſcretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated every thing that had been done by France. One of the motives of this general's diſcontent, was that the French had lately refuſed him twenty-four thouſand German florins, which he ſtill demanded, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the emperor Charles VIIth's plate in pledge, at the time that he commanded his army; and after he returned it to the electoral

electoral family, he complained that they did not pay him the remainder of a ſum of money which was ſtill due. Every body knows, that this man, after having been long in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria, was confined by the laſt emperor of that family; and that upon the death of that prince he quitted the queen of Hungary for the houſe of Bavaria: now human nature is ſo conſtituted, that thoſe who often change maſters, are ſeldom heartily attached to any party. The 24th of March he wrote to marſhal Thoring, a Bavarian general, theſe very words: "The happy ſucceſs with which they flatter themſelves upon the Rhine, will not ſave Bavaria; this country muſt be doomed to utter deſtruction, if means be not found of ſaving it by ſome kind of accommodation, coſt what it will."

The count de Segur and M. de Chavigni, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his ſecret deſigns; they plainly perceived from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left expoſed in a country, where the very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the ſpace of four years, were become their enemies.

Things being thus unhappily ſituated, count Segur, who had only ſix thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twenty thouſand Auſtrians, within a few leagues of Donavert, near a little town called Piſſaffenhoven. All he had to do in this ſituation was to ſave the king's troops, and the military cheſt; for this end he poſted his men ſo well, by covering them

them with a wood, and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a moſt unequal and moſt obſtinate fight, without being thrown into diſorder. The French alone loſt about two thouſand men, killed and wounded: the Palatines, who were leſs expoſed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions were made priſoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major-general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed at length with a muſket-ball on the field of battle. He had only his aid-de-camp near him when he received the wound. "Let me die, ſaid he; run and tell M. de Segur that he take care of the rear." We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who, beſides every military talent, was poſſeſſed of a philoſophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities which rendered his company infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long diſtinguiſhed in Flanders; the hope and conſolation of a mother, who for many years had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this ſon, on whom ſhe doated. The marquis de Cruſſol, who was entruſted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with ſuch prudence and intrepidity, that the enemy could not refuſe them their commendations, and were rewarded by the prince. This little army retired to Donavert in good order, without being ever broke; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themſelves had loſt.

All

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Augſburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to thoſe which were only fighting his battles, he might ſtill have kept the balance even. The king was defending his cauſe on all ſides: marſhal Maillebois, at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and ſixty-two ſquadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Auſtrian army, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Pruſſia kept prince Charles employed: in ſhort, the king of France himſelf was upon the point of making a moſt powerful diverſion in Flanders. But all theſe conſiderations were ſuperſeded by count Seckendorff's party; they prevailed on the young elector to ſign preliminaries, by which he made himſelf dependent on Auſtria; while the queen of Hungary was left in poſſeſſion of his ſtrongeſt towns, Ingolſtadt, Scharding, and Branau, till the concluſion of a definitive treaty: he likewiſe promiſed his vote at the firſt diet of election to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very perſon whom the preſent conjuncture had rendered the moſt dangerous enemy of the houſe of Bavaria. The ſix thouſand Heſſians who were in this army declared themſelves neuter; but notwithſtanding their neutrality, they were diſarmed at Augſburg, after which they paſſed from French into Engliſh pay. The Palatines were ſoon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution, ſo lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this ſervice at leaſt to France, that

it

it ſaved her the men and the treaſure of which ſhe had been ſo laviſh in favour of the houſe of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally coſt a great deal more than their ſervice is worth. The young elector's council might excuſe this treaty by the experience of paſt, and the apprehenſion of future misfortunes: but how could they juſtify a ſecret article by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and, like the reſt, to receive Engliſh pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the Imperial throne, that in two years time the Bavarians would ſerve among his enemy's troops.

While the king loſt one ally, who was only a burden to him, he ſtill preſerved another, who was of infinite uſe. The king of Pruſſia was the terror of the Auſtrians; prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The reſolution taken by Lewis XV. was to act upon the defenſive in Germany, and upon the offenſive in Flanders and Italy: and thereby he anſwered every purpoſe. His army upon the Rhine employed the Auſtrians, and prevented them from falling upon his ally the king of Pruſſia, with too great a ſuperiority of forces. He had already ſent marſhal Maillebois from Germany into Italy; and the prince of Conti was entruſted with the management of the war upon the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook in perſon to finiſh the conqueſts, which he had interrupted the preceding

ceding year. He had juſt married the dauphin to the ſecond infanta of Spain, in the month of February; and this young prince, who had not yet completed his ſixteenth year, prepared to ſet out the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, marſhal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to conſiſt of an hundred and ſix battalions and an hundred and ſeventy-two ſquadrons complete, with ſeventeen independent companies.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe having made ſeveral marches, which kept the enemy in ſuſpence, and ſeemed ſometimes to threaten Aeth, and ſometimes Mons, all of a ſudden ſate down before Tournay, and inveſted it the 25th of April; while the allied army of the Engliſh, Auſtrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the ſtrongeſt place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's maſterpieces; for there was not a place of any ſtrength in Flanders, whoſe fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not ſo much becauſe their town is part of the antient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage: they preferred the French magnificence, which enriches a country, to the Dutch œconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is ſeldom regarded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of thoſe places: they are transferred from one ſovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them, without aſking their advice.

In the beginning of the ſiege of Tournay happened one of thoſe events, in which the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared, as it were, in the moſt conſpicuous characters.

characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron: here a cavalier * was erected, near which they had placed a caſk of gun-powder. In the night the duke de Biron laid himſelf down upon a bear-ſkin near M. de Talleyrand, when he recollected that he had promiſed to ſpend part of the night with M. de Meuze: he reſolves to go, notwithſtanding that M. de Talleyrand did all he could to diſſuade him. No ſooner was he gone, than a ſoldier trying the prime of his fuſil, a ſpark fell upon the caſk of gun-powder, and inſtantly the cavalier flew up into the air, carrying with it M. de Talleyrand, with twenty-four ſoldiers, whoſe mangled limbs were diſperſed on every ſide: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown to the diſtance of above thirty fathom. But an accident of this kind, though never ſo fatal, is confounded in time of war in the multitude of human calamities, which, from our being too much ſurrounded by them, eſcape our attention. The garriſon of Tournay, beholding this unlucky accident, inſulted the French, reviling them with the moſt injurious language; upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, anſwered them, not by opprobrious ſpeeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finiſhed: they deſcend without order, without preparation, or even without officers, upon the covert-way, notwith-

* A kind of high platform to plant great guns upon.

ſtanding

ſtanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their ſmall ſhot, and maintain themſelves boldly till the round came by, though expoſed on every ſide. The duke de Biron, who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation and the ardour of the troops rendered in ſome meaſure excuſable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges thoſe brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had ſo reſolutely carried.

As ſoon as the ſtates general were informed that Tournay was in danger, they ſent word to the commander of the troops that he muſt venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithſtanding the circumſpection of thoſe republicans, they were the firſt of the allies at that time who took vigorous reſolutions.

The fifth of May the enemy advanced to Cambron, within ſeven leagues of Tournay. The king ſet out the 6th from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aids-de-camp, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been ſo near loſing the king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon ſeeing both the father and the ſon ſet out for Flanders, to expoſe themſelves to the uncertain iſſue of a battle. The French had made no entrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of obſervation; nor were the twenty battalions and forty ſquadrons, which had been draughted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But notwithſtanding the uneaſineſs they were under at Paris, it muſt be allowed that the king's army

army was conſiderably ſuperior to that of the allies. In ſeveral printed relations, it is ſaid to have been weaker. Hiſtorical exactneſs obliges me to acknowledge that it was ſtronger by ſixty battalions and eighty-two ſquadrons; for the French had a hundred and ſix battalions, reckoning the militia, and a hundred and ſeventy-two ſquadrons; whereas the allies had only forty-ſix battalions and ninety ſquadrons.

True it is, that the day of the engagement the French did not avail themſelves intirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived; there was alſo a neceſſity for leaving ſome to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but ſtill the ſuperiority of numbers were certainly on the ſide of France. And it is not leſs true, that this advantage was not of any conſequence in ſo confined a ground as that of the field of battle; beſides, it happens very ſeldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief ſtrength of the enemy's army conſiſted in twenty battalions and twenty-ſix ſquadrons of Engliſh, under the young duke of Cumberland, who, in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The Engliſh were joined by five battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince of Waldeck, of the ſame age very near as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to ſignalize himſelf, was at the head of the Dutch forces, conſiſting of forty ſquadrons and twenty-ſix battalions. In this army the Auſtrians had only eight ſquadrons: the allies were fighting their cauſe in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treaſure of Eng-

land and Holland. But at the head of this ſmall number of Auſtrians was old general Konigſeg, who had commanded againſt the Turks in Hungary, and againſt the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience ſhould be a check to the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland, and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thouſand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thouſand men before Tournay, who were poſted at gradual diſtances from the field of battle, beſides ſix thouſand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general, in whom they had the greateſt confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his conſtant ſtudy, even in time of peace: beſides a profound theory, he had great practical knowlege: in ſhort, vigilance, ſecreſy, the art of knowing properly when to poſtpone, and when to execute a project, to ſee things at one glance, preſence of mind and foreſight, were abilities allowed him by the conſent of all military people. But at that time this general was waſting away with a lingering diſorder, and almoſt at death's door, when he left Paris. The author of theſe memoirs happening to meet him before he ſet out for Flanders, could not forbear aſking him, how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? the marſhal anſwered: "It is not time now to think of living, but of departing."

The 6th of May the king arrived at Douay: juſt as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marſhal, who informed him that

the enemy's army was approaching, and that they ſhould be quickly in ſight of each other. "Gentlemen," ſaid the king to his aid-de-camps and to his officers, "there ſhall be no time loſt; I ſet out to-morrow morning at five o'clock; but do not diſturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-Chin near the Scheld, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprized, was there in time, and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground deſigned for the field of battle. The whole army, upon ſeeing the king and the dauphin, made the air reſound with acclamations of joy. The enemy ſpent the 10th and the night of the 11th in making their laſt diſpoſitions. Never did the king expreſs greater chearfulneſs than the evening before the engagement. The converſation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been preſent: the king ſaid, that ſince the battle of Poitiers, there had not been any king of France who had his ſon with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a ſignal victory over the Engliſh; and he hoped to be the firſt.

The day the battle was fought, he waked the firſt: at four o'clock he himſelf awakened count d'Argenſon, ſecretary at war, who that very inſtant ſent to marſhal Saxe to know his laſt orders. They found the marſhal in a wicker vehicle, which ſerved him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his ſtrength came to be ſo exhauſted as he could no longer ride on horſeback. The king and the dauphin had already paſſed the bridge of Calonne. The

marſhal

marſhal told the officer ſent by count d'Argenſon, that the king's guards muſt come forward, for he had fixed their poſt in the reſerve with the carabineers, as a ſure reſource. This was a new method of poſting troops, whom the enemy conſider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards ſhould not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repaſſed the bridge. The marſhal, as a foreigner, was very ſenſible how much leſs it became him than any other general, to expoſe two ſuch precious lives to the uncertain iſſue of a battle. The officer, to whom he had made theſe anſwers, was loth to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprized of the marſhal's directions, ſaid, "Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repaſs the bridge." Soon after he went and took poſt beyond the place called *The Juſtice of our Lady in the Wood.* For his guard he would have only a ſquadron of an hundred and twenty men of the company of Charôt, one gendarm, a light-horſe-man, and a muſketeer. Marſhal Noailles kept near his majeſty, as did alſo the count d'Argenſon; the aid-de-camps were the ſame as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroi was alſo about his perſon, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his attendants near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which compoſed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of perſons of all ranks, whom curioſity had brought to this place, ſome of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the ſpectacle of a bloody engagement.

The aſſiſtance of engraving is abſolutely neceſſary to a perſon that has a mind to form to himſelf a clear and diſtinct image of this action. The antients, who were ſtrangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the ſituation and motion of their armies; but to have an adequate knowlege of ſuch a day, requires reſearches ſtill more difficult. No one officer can ſee every thing; a great many behold with eyes of prepoſſeſſion, and there are ſome that are very ſhort-ſighted. There is a good deal in having conſulted the papers of the war-office, and eſpecially in getting inſtruction from the generals and the aid-de-camps; but it is requiſite moreover to ſpeak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their relations, in order to mention only thoſe facts in which they agree.

All theſe precautions have I taken for the obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the leaſt particulars muſt be intereſting to the whole nation*. Caſting an eye upon the plan, you may perceive at one glance the diſpoſition of the two armies. You will ſee Antoin pretty near the Scheld, within nine hundred fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dau-

* Notwithſtanding M. Voltaire's boaſted accuracy in the relation of this battle, it appears on further information that he is miſtaken in many eſſential particulars. The diſappointment of the allies was entirely owing to the failure of the left wing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry's forbearing to advance to the ſupport of the infantry; who, by the way, never formed themſelves into that imaginary column deſcribed by the French writer, with no other view probably than to tarniſh the honour of marſhal Saxe, and compliment the rival French officers.

phin

phin came. The village of Fontenoy is within eight hundred fathom of Antoin; from thence, drawing towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad, betwixt the woods of Barri and of Fontenoy. In this plan you ſee the diſpoſitions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared againſt the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy, in thoſe villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which ſeparates Fontenoy from the woods of Barri, and finally on the left towards Remecroix, where the enemy might advance by making the compaſs of the woods.

The general had made diſpoſitions both for a victory and a defeat. The bridge of Calonne lined with cannon, ſtrengthened with entrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiſs, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin, in caſe of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the ſame time over the other bridges on the Lower Scheld in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithſtanding all theſe meaſures, ſo well concerted as to ſupport each other without the leaſt claſhing, there happened one miſtake, which, had it not been rectified, might have occaſioned the loſs of the day. The evening preceding the battle, it was told the general, that there was a hollow way, deep and impaſſable, which extended, without diſcontinuance, from Antoin to Fontenoi, and would ſecure the army on that ſide. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way himſelf; and

they aſſured him that the remainder was ſtill more inacceſſible. He made his diſpoſitions accordingly; but this ground which was very deep near Fontenoy and Antoin, was quite level betwixt thoſe two villages. This circumſtance, ſo trivial in other caſes, was here of the utmoſt conſequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marſhal having been better informed by the quarter-maſter, M. de Cremille, cauſed three redoubts to be haſtily erected in this ſame ſpot betwixt the villages. Marſhal Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoi to the firſt redoubt by a redan of earth; the three redoubts were furniſhed with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiſs regiment of Bettens, with that of Dieſbach. Beſide theſe precautions, they had likewiſe planted ſix ſixteen-pounders on this ſide the Scheld, to gall the troops that ſhould attack the village of Antoin.

We muſt particularly obſerve that there was a piece of ground of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a gentle aſcent betwixt the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect at the verge of the woods of Barri, a ſtrong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrazures; here the marquis de Chambona commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with thoſe which were planted to the left-ſide of Fontenoi, formed a croſs-fire ſufficient, one would imagine, to ſtop the efforts of the moſt intrepid enemy.

Had

Had the Engliſh attempted to paſs through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt furniſhed with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had entrenchments to force, and muſt have been expoſed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did marſhal Saxe make the moſt advantage of the ground on every ſide.

With reſpect to the poſition of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Calonne, there was no one part left naked. The count de la March and de Lorges were entruſted with the poſt of Antoin; where were ſix battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with ſix cannon at the head of thoſe regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was poſted with his regiment hard by the redoubt neareſt Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to ſupport him.

The village of Fontenoy was committed to the care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the ſon of the marquis de Meuze-Choiſeul with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is ſince dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, cloſe to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viſcount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the ſame line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiſs, and the regiment of Courtin on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barri.

About two hundred fathom behind them were fifty-two ſquadrons of horſe: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Eſtrees, and the count de Penthievre, were lieutenant-generals of this firſt line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the ſecond; and between theſe lines of cavalry, in the morning the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soiſſons, and Royal.

On the left was the Iriſh brigade, under the command of my lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Further on was the regiment of Vaiſſeaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel: betwixt theſe brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, and the prince de Pons, of the houſe of Lorrain, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal-Rouſſillon.

The king's houſhold and the carabineers were in the corps de reſerve. This was a new method practiſed by marſhal Saxe, and recommended by the chevalier Folard, to ſecrete from the enemy's view thoſe troops which are moſt famed for bravery, againſt whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

Theſe diſpoſitions being all made, or upon the point of being made, they waited in ſilence for the break of day. At four in the morning marſhal Saxe, attended by his aid-de-camps, and by the principal officers, went to viſit all the poſts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at theſe officers; which the marſhal perceiving, ſaid, "Gentlemen, there will be uſe for your lives to-day:" he made them diſmount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which

which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhauſted his ſtrength and increaſed his illneſs; finding himſelf grow weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he reſted for ſome little time. At break of day count d'Argenſon went to ſee whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only ſixty. Here the preſence and directions of the miniſter were neceſſary: he gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry, almoſt unavoidable on ſuch an occaſion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which ſuch artillery required. The field-pieces were four-pounders, and drawn by ſoldiers; the cannon in the villages and redoubts, as alſo thoſe planted on this ſide the Scheld againſt the Dutch, were from four to ſixteen-pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were diſtributed in Antoin, Fontenoy, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery.

The enemy had eighty-one cannon, and eight mortars. Their field pieces were three-pounders; they were what we uſed formerly to call *fauconets*; their length is about four feet and a half, their ordinary charge is two pounds of powder, and they carry two hundred and fifty fathom at full ſhot. There were ſome that carried only balls of a pound and a half. The cannonading began on both ſides: marſhal Saxe told marſhal Noailles, that here the enemy would ſtop: he ſuppoſed them to have

formed a deeper deſign than they really had, imagining they would do juſt what he would have done in their place, that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and perhaps abſolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were poſted in ſuch a manner that they could not be attacked with advantage; while at the ſame time they had it in their power conſtantly to harraſs the beſieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Konigſeg: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the Engliſh too great, to liſten to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, marſhal Noailles was near to Fontenoy, and gave an account to marſhal Saxe of the work he had done the beginning of the night, in cauſing the village of Fontenoy to be joined to the firſt of the three redoubts betwixt that village and Antoin: he acted here as M. de Saxe's firſt aid-de-camp, thus ſacrificing the jealouſy of command to the good of the ſtate, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedency to a general who was not only a foreigner, but younger in commiſſion than himſelf. Marſhal Saxe was perfectly ſenſible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there ſo perfect a harmony betwixt two men, who from the ordinary weakneſs of the human heart, ſhould naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Granmont came up, when marſhal Noailles ſaid to him, "Nephew, we ſhould embrace one another on the day of battle; perhaps we ſhall not ſee one another again." Accordingly they embraced

one another moſt tenderly; and then marſhal Noailles went to give his majeſty an account of the ſeveral poſts which he had viſited.

The duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little diſtance of the firſt redoubt of the wood of Barri, oppoſite to an Engliſh battery; here a cannon-ball of three pound weight ſtruck the duke of Grammont's horſe, and covered count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of fleſh which flew off with the ſhot, fell into his boot: "Have a care, ſays he to the duke of Grammont, your horſe is killed." "And I myſelf," anſwered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was ſhattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The ſurgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern: "Ah! we ſhall loſe a great many more to-day."

The cannonading continued on both ſides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's ſeeming to have formed any ſettled plan. Towards ſeven, the Engliſh encompaſſed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every ſide. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell juſt before marſhal Saxe, who was then ſpeaking to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well ſupported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoy, with the young count de Meuze under him, conſtantly repulſed the Engliſh. He had made entrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphin

not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed; for the ſoldiers did not fire till they were almoſt muzzle to muzzle, and ſure of their mark; at each diſcharge they made the air reſound with *Vive le Roi*. The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horſe and foot. The marquis de Chambonas alſo repulſed the enemy in the ſeveral attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The Engliſh preſented themſelves thrice before Fontenoy, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their ſecond attack almoſt a whole Dutch ſquadron was ſwept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a diſtance.

The king was at that time with the dauphin, near *the Juſtice of our Lady in the Wood*, againſt which the Engliſh played very briſkly with their cannon. Even the ſmall muſket-ſhot reached thus far; a domeſtic of count d'Argenſon being wounded on the forehead by a muſket-ball, a good diſtance behind the king.

From this poſition, which was equally diſtant from the ſeveral corps, the king obſerved every thing with great attention. He was the firſt who perceived, that as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoy, and ſeemed to bend their whole ſtrength on that ſide, it would be of no uſe to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine towards Ramecroix: he therefore cauſed Normandy to advance near the Iriſh, and put Auvergne and Tourraine farther behind. But he did not change this diſpoſition till he had aſked the general's advice, entirely ſolicitous about the ſucceſs of the day, never preſuming

preſuming on his own opinion, and declaring that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his ſon's inſtruction.

Then he advanced towards the ſide of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their ſecond attack: the cannon-balls fell round him and the dauphin; and an officer named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midſt of danger: the king and thoſe about him, finding themſelves daubed with the dirt thrown up by this ſhot, fell a-laughing: the king made them pick up the balls, and ſaid to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery, "Send theſe balls back to the enemy; I will have nothing belonging to them." He afterwards returned to his former poſt, and with ſurprize obſerved, that moſt of the balls that were then fired towards the woods of Barri, from the Engliſh battery, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Rouſſillon, which did not make the leaſt movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its loſſes.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marſhal Saxe had foreſeen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpoſe, upon the villages and the redoubts. Towards ten the duke of Cumberland took the reſolution of forcing his way betwixt the redoubt of the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to paſs, expoſed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other ſide of the hollow way he had the French army to fight. The enterprize ſeemed

temerarious.

temerarious. The duke took this reſolution only becauſe an officer, whoſe name was Ingoldſby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders *. Had he made himſelf maſter of that redoubt, he might have eaſily, and without loſs, brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned againſt the French. But, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the Engliſh advanced through the hollow way. They paſſed it almoſt without diſordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the byeways; they formed upon three lines pretty cloſe, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon, which galled them moſt terribly, the ground not above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were inſtantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up againſt Fontenoy and the redoubts, anſwered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by ſix field pieces, with ſix more in the middle of their lines.

Oppoſite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiſs guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were poſted, to where the Engliſh were forming, was a riſing ground.

* General Ingoldſby was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted.

The officers of the French guards ſaid to one another, "We muſt go and take the Engliſh cannon." Accordingly they aſcended ſoon to the top with their grenadiers; but when they got there, how great was their ſurprize to find a whole army before them! The enemy's cannon and ſmall ſhot brought very near ſixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the Engliſh advanced, and this line of infantry, compoſed of the French and Swiſs guards, and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's, drew near the enemy: the regiment of Engliſh guards was at the diſtance of fifty paces; Campbell's and the Royal Scotch were the firſt; Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant-general; lord Albemarle their major-general; and Mr. Churchill, a natural ſon of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadier. The Engliſh officers ſaluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. Lord Charles Hay *, captain of the Engliſh guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant, and ſince captain of grenadiers, anſwered with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire firſt; do you begin." Then lord Charles, turning about to his men, gave the word of command, in Engliſh, to fire! The Engliſh made a run-

* This nobleman's words were theſe: *Souvenir vous l'affaire de Dettingen.* "Remember the affair of Dettingen."

ning

ning fire; that is, they fired in platoons, in this manner, that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its diſcharge, and then a third, while the firſt were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire; it was ſingle, and four deep, the ranks pretty diſtant, and not at all ſupported by any other body of infantry: it was impoſſible but their eyes muſt have been ſurprized at the depth of the Engliſh corps, and their ears ſtunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this firſt diſcharge; Meſſieurs de Cliſſon, de Langey, and de la Peyrere, loſt their lives; ninety-five ſoldiers were killed upon the ſpot; two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; eleven Swiſs officers were wounded; as alſo one hundred and forty-five of their common men, and ſixty-four were killed; colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and ſeventy-five ſoldiers dropped down dead; fourteen officers, and two hundred ſoldiers, were dangerouſly wounded. The firſt rank being thus ſwept away, the other three looked behind them, and, ſeeing only ſome cavalry at the diſtance of above three hundred fathom, they diſperſed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and firſt lieutenant-general, whoſe preſence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, ſecond lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The Engliſh, in the mean time, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exerciſe: one might ſee the majors holding their canes upon the ſoldiers muſkets, to make them fire low and ſtraight!

Thus the Engliſh pierced beyond Fontenoy

and

and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines *, being now ſtraitened by the nature of the ground, became a long ſolid column, unſhaken from its weight, and ſtill more ſo from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre: at the news of this danger M. de Luttaux made all haſte from Fontenoy, where he had been dangerouſly wounded. His aid-de-camp begged of him to ſtay to have his wound dreſſed. "The king's ſervice," anſwered M. de Luttaux, "is dearer to me than my life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds; at the ſame diſcharge M. de Biron had a horſe killed under him; a hundred ſoldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, ſtops the march of the column on its left flank; upon which the regiment of Engliſh guards, detaching itſelf from the reſt, advances ſome paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen others, and twelve lieutenants; at the ſame time two hundred and ſixty-ſix ſoldiers were killed, and ſeventy-nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itſelf placed a little behind the king's, preſents itſelf to the Engliſh column; but its colonel the duke d'Havré, the lieutenant-colonel, all the ſtaff-officers, and, in ſhort, thirty-ſeven officers are wounded ſo as to be obliged to quit the

* In the foregoing page he ſays it was drawn up four deep, which was not the caſe; and as for this column, there was no ſuch manœuvre.

field;

field; and the firſt rank of the ſoldiers, to the number of two hundred and ſixty, entirely overthrown.

The regiment of Soiſſonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and loſt a hundred and thirty ſoldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, loſt more than any other corps at theſe diſcharges: ſix of its officers, one hundred and thirty-ſix ſoldiers were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine ſoldiers, were wounded.

It was probable that the Engliſh, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverſe, while they were cannonading it on the other ſide, and then the battle would have been inevitably loſt. The duke de Biron, having placed ſome grenadiers in the hollow way which lined Fontenoy, rallied his regiment, and made a briſk diſcharge upon the Engliſh, which obliged them to halt. One might ſee the king's regiment, with thoſe of la Couronne and Aubeterre, entrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time two battalions of French and Swiſs guards were filing off, by different roads, acroſs the lines of cavalry, which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Lutteaux, firſt lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoi. "Ah, gentlemen, ſaid he, do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died, ſome time after, in unſpeakable torments: before he retired, he ſaid to the ſoldiers he met belonging to the regiment

giment of guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried though a little bottom, which goes from Barri to *Our Lady in the Wood*, up to the very place where the king had taken poſt, oppoſite the Wood of Barri, near la Juſtice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes towards the redoubt of Eu, and there ſtood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command, becauſe, though young, he was the oldeſt captain, the reſt having been either killed or wounded.

The Engliſh column kept firm and cloſe, and was continually gaining ground. Marſhal Saxe with all the coolneſs imaginable, ſeeing how dubious the affair was, ſent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repaſs the bridge along with the Dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the diſorder. "Oh! I am very ſure he will do what is proper," anſwered the king; "but I will ſtay where I am." This prince was every moment ſending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade, and from poſt to poſt. Each ſet out with two pages of the ſtables, whom he ſent back ſucceſſively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himſelf. The order of battle was no longer the ſame it had been in the beginning: of the firſt line of cavalry not above the one half was left. The diviſion of count d'Eſtrées was near Antoin, under the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon againſt the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that

that ſide, while the Engliſh on the other were beginning to be victorious: the other half of this firſt line, which was naturally the duke of Harcourt's diviſion, remained under the command of the count d'Eſtrées. This line vigorouſly attacked the Engliſh. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name; but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail againſt a ſolid body of infantry, ſo compact, ſo well diſciplined, and ſo intrepid, whoſe running fire, regularly ſupported, muſt of courſe diſperſe all thoſe ſmall detached bodies, which ſucceſſively preſented themſelves: beſides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very ſeldom make any impreſſion upon a cloſe and compact infantry. Marſhal Saxe was in the midſt of this fire: his illneſs not permitting him to wear a cuiraſs, he had a kind of buckler made of ſeveral folds of ſtitched taffety, which he carried on his ſaddle bow: he put on his buckler, and rode up with full ſpeed to give directions for the ſecond line of cavalry to advance againſt the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, compoſed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldeſt of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the firſt marſhal of the name of Noailles, who raiſed this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke de Penthievre made alſo a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignecourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy deſcendant of a family which has given three grand maſters to the order

order of Malta, ruſhes with his ſquadron to attack this column in flank; but the ſquadron was cut in pieces in the midſt of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers, who forced their way through with M. de Vignecourt. An Engliſh ſoldier drove his bayonet with ſuch violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot; that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fuſil: the horſe, having received ſeveral wounds, ran away with his maſter; while the but-end of the muſket, trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broke through the column, ſix remained, who were ſoon made priſoners; but the Engliſh ſent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenſon, ſon of the ſecretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the ſame time that the regiment of Fiennes was alſo advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a ſingle ſquadron; and, upon a falſe report, his father thought him killed. The count de Brionne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabrillant headed and rallied their troops; but all theſe corps were repulſed one after the other. The count de Clermont-Tonnere, maſter de camp of the cavalry, the count d'Eſtrées, and the marquis de Croiſſi, were every-where: all the general-officers were continually riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel-general, and Fiennes, with the Croats, ſuffered greatly; that of prince Clermont was ſtill more roughly handled, twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve.

twelve. All the ſtaff-officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puiſegur, Meſſieurs de Saint Sauveur, de Saint Georges, de Mezieres, aid-quarter-maſters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It was in theſe attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant-general, (whoſe name is pronounced *d'Aché*) had his foot ſhattered by a ball. Towards the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and ſpoke a long while to his majeſty without expreſſing the leaſt ſign of pain, till at length the violence of the anguiſh obliged him to retire.

The more the Engliſh column advanced the deeper it became, and of courſe the better able to repair the continual loſſes which it muſt have ſuſtained from ſo many repeated attacks. It ſtill marched on, cloſe and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both ſides, ſeeming to form one ſingle corps of about ſixteen thouſand men, though it was then in three diviſions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in diſorder as far as the very place where the king was poſted with his ſon; ſo that theſe two princes were ſeparated by the croud that came tumbling upon them. The king dd not change colour; he was concerned, but ſhewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to obſerve about two hundred troopers ſcattered behind him towards *Our Lady of the Wood*, he ſaid to a light-horſeman, "Go and rally thoſe men in my name, and bring them back." The light-horſeman

horſeman gallopped, and led them back againſt the enemy. This man, whoſe name was de Jouy, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the miniſter enquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this diſorder the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reſerve, advanced of themſelves againſt the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four ſquadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very inſtant from Douay, and, notwithſtanding the fatigue of a march of ſeven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy: but all theſe corps were received like the reſt, with the ſame intrepidity, and the ſame running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a Guidon, was killed; and it happened to be the very ſame day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, ſon of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced thro'. M. de Gueſclin received a wound on the foot. The carabineers charged the enemy; but had ſix officers killed, and one and twenty wounded. All theſe attacks were made without any preparation or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which the greateſt bravery can avail nothing againſt diſcipline and order.

Marſhal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, continued ſtill on horſeback, riding gently in the midſt of the fire: he paſſed cloſe under the front of the Engliſh column, to obſerve every thing that paſſed towards the left, near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very ſame manner as towards the right; endeavouring, but in vain, to throw the

the column into diſorder. The French regiments preſented themſelves one after the other; while the Engliſh, facing about on every ſide, properly diſpoſing their cannon, and always firing in diviſions, kept up this running and conſtant fire when they were attacked; after the attack they remained immoveable, and ceaſed to fire. The marſhal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never ſtirred, aſked what corps that was; they told him, it was the regiment de Vaiſſeau, commanded by M. de Guerchi; he then cried out, "Admirable indeed!" Two and thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, and one third of the ſoldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not ſuffer leſs: their colonel was ſon to the prince de Craon, governor of Tuſcany: the father ſerved in the enemy's army, and his ſons in the king's. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerouſly, and two hundred and ſixty ſoldiers lay dead upon the ſpot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and ſoldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel M. de Soltnei, whoſe bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded, by making him a brigadier. Some Iriſh battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: colonel Dillon was killed, fifty-ſix officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the ſpot.

Marſhal

Marſhal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to obſerve whether Fontenoy ſtill held out; there he found that they had no more ball, ſo that they anſwered the enemy's ſhot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. de Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery, and ſeveral other officers of the ordnance, were killed. The marſhal then deſired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beſeech his majeſty to remove farther off; at the ſame time he ſent orders to the count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that poſt with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle ſeemed to be paſt all hopes; they were bringing back their field-pieces from every ſide, and were juſt upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoy, though a ſupply of ball was come; they had even begun to ſend off the train. Marſhal Saxe's intention was now to make his laſt effort againſt the Engliſh column. This enormous maſs of infantry had ſuffered much, tho' it ſtill ſeemed to be of the ſame depth: the ſoldiers were ſurprized to find themſelves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unſhaken; their contenance was bold and undaunted, and they ſeemed maſters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Battens, and acted vigorouſly in conjunction with the Engliſh, the battle would have been loſt beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the king and his ſon. The ſucceſs of a laſt attack was

dubious. Marſhal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an intire defeat, depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a ſafe retreat, at the ſame time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He ſent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move towards the bridge of Calonne, in order to favour this retreat in caſe of a laſt diſappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who ſaw the Dutch ready to take poſſeſſion of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery againſt his own army. The marſhal ſent a ſecond order by his aid-de-camp M. Dailvorde; it was intimated to the count de Lorges who was made anſwerable for the execution of it; ſo that he was obliged to obey. At that time they deſpaired of the ſucceſs of the day; but the greateſt events depend on the moſt trivial circumſtances, on a miſtake, on ſome unexpected ſtroke.

Thoſe who were near the king muſt have imagined the battle was loſt, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoy, that moſt of thoſe who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they alſo wanted ball at the poſt of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Thoſe who were near the duke of Cumberland muſt have likewiſe had a bad opinion of the day, becauſe they ſtill imagined themſelves expoſed to the croſs-fire of Fontenoy and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antion, did not advance;

advance; the Engliſh horſe, which might have completed the diſorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the Engliſh column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoy or to the redoubt, the fire of which ſtill ſeemed uniform. Here it will be aſked, why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, ſince he might have turned the cannon that was there againſt the French army, which would have ſecured him the victory. This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight o'clock in the morning, he ordered brigadier Ingoldſby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments, in order to make himſelf maſter of that poſt. The brigadier obeyed; but perceiving the artillery pointed againſt him, and ſeveral battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon. General Campbell promiſed him ſome, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready ſoon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing ſo much as loſing time, had taken the reſolution of paſſing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprize, which one would imagine muſt have proved fatal to him, had hitherto ſucceeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of a council around the king, who was preſſed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expoſe his perſon any longer. At this very inſtant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who ſerved as aid-de-camp to the

king: he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoy; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaiſſeaux, and with the life-guards; he had alſo made M. Bellet advance with the gendarmes under his command, and theſe had ſtopped the column, which now no longer advanced. Having thus rode about and fought on every ſide without being wounded, he preſents himſelf quite out of breath, with his ſword in his hand, and all covered with duſt. "Well, Reſce," ſays marſhal Noailles to him (this was a familiar expreſſion uſed by the marſhal) "what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion?" "My news, ſays the duke of Richlieu, is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear againſt the front of the column: while this artillery throws it into diſorder, the king's houſhold and his other troops will ſurround it. We muſt fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours." "But Fontenoy, ſaid they, is poſſeſſed by the enemy." "I come from thence, ſaid the duke; it holds out ſtill." "We muſt ſee, replied they, whether the marſhal has not deſigned this cannon for ſome other uſe." He anſwered them, "There is no other to make of it." He was convinced himſelf, and he perſuaded the reſt. The king was the firſt who approved of this important propoſal, and every body elſe joined in the opinion. He gave orders to bring up four pieces of cannon immediately: twenty meſſengers rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Tourraine, whoſe name was Iſſards, aged one

and

and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the croſs of St. Lewis.

The king ordered the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and ſee thoſe four pieces pointed: they were deſigned, they ſaid, to cover the retreat. "We ſhall make no retreat, ſaid the duke de Chaulnes; the king commands that theſe four pieces ſhall give us the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, plants them directly oppoſite to the column. The duke de Richlieu gallops full ſpeed in the king's name to give orders to the king's houſhold to march: he communicates this news to M. de Monteſſon, the commanding officer, who is tranſported with joy, and immediately puts himſelf at their head. The prince de Soubiſe aſſembles his gendarmes under his command; the duke de Chaulnes does the ſame with his light-horſe; they all draw up in order, and march. The four ſquadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's houſhold, the horſe grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille; and the muſketeers commanded by M. de Jumillac, ruſh boldly on. The dauphin was advancing with ſword in hand to put himſelf at the head of the king's houſhold; but they ſtopped him, telling him that his life was too precious. "Mine is not precious, ſaid he; it is the general's life that is precious in the day of battle."

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, behold with concern the troops quitting their poſt at Antoin;

the count de la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying. "I will anſwer, ſaid the duke de Biron, for his diſobedience; I am ſure the king will approve of it now that there is ſo great a change in our favour; I anſwer that marſhal Saxe will think it right." The marſhal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's reſolution, and of the good diſpoſition of the troops, readily acquieſced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin; he moved, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Iriſh brigade, ſtrictly recommending to all the troops he met upon his way not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

While he was with the Iriſh brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and lord Clare, the duke de Biron, the count d'Eſtrées, and the marquis de Croiſy, were together on the right, oppoſite the left flank of the column upon a riſing ground: they perceived the Iriſh and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing towards the right flank. "Now is the time, ſaid they to one another, for us to advance; the Engliſh are beaten." M. de Biron puts himſelf at the head of the king's regiment; thoſe of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the reſt advance under the count d'Eſtrées. Five ſquadrons of Penthievre's regiment follow M. de Croiſſi and his ſons; the ſquadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabrillant, Brancas, and Brienne, advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it ſeemed as

if

if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better ſerved than at that very inſtant: it was the quickeſt and moſt unanimous movement. Lord Clare marches up with the Iriſh; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiſs advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu. All theſe corps move at the ſame time; the Iriſh commanded by lord Clare, againſt the front of the column, the guards higher up, under M. the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all ſeparated from the Engliſh column by a hollow way; they force through it firing almoſt muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the Engliſh with their bayonets fixed on their muſkets. M. de Bonnafanſe, at that time firſt captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the firſt that jumped upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the firſt of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impreſſion. The carabineers betwixt the Iriſh and the king's houſhold, were then piercing thro' the firſt ranks; they were ſeen to run about and to rally in the midſt of the enemy, when the croud and their impetuoſity had diſordered their ranks. Unluckily they miſtook the Iriſh, who have near the ſame uniform as the Engliſh, for Engliſh battalions; and fell upon them with great fury. The Iriſh cried out *Vive France*, but in the confuſion they could not be heard; ſo that ſome Iriſh were killed thro' miſtake.

The four cannon which the duke of Richlieu had called for, and which the duke de Chaulnes

had levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two diſcharges which thinned the ranks, and began to ſhake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's houſhold advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into diſorder. The cavalry preſſed it hard upon the left flank; marſhal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breaſts of their horſes, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Eſtrées, the young prince de Brionne, killed ſome of the enemy themſelves in the foremoſt ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell-mell with the guards and the muſketeers. All the pages were there with ſword in hand; ſo that the marquis de Treſſau, who commanded the brigade of the king's body guards, ſaid to the king after the battle, "Sire, you ſent us pages whom we took for ſo many officers."

All this time, the duke de Biron held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade de Crillon. He had already ſent M. de Boiſſeul, a firſt page of the great ſtable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his ſide, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy. On the other ſide, the marquis d'Harcourt, ſon of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king, in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every ſide, and that the victory was ſure.

At this very inſtant arrived the count de Caſtellane, diſpatched by marſhal Saxe, to inform the king that the field of battle was recovered. In ſeven or eight minutes the whole Engliſh column was diſperſed; general Ponſonby, lord Albemarle's

Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers, were ſlain. The Engliſh repaſſed the hollow way betwixt Fontenoy and the redoubt in the greateſt diſorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was ſtrewed with dead and wounded bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, becauſe its importance deſerved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conqueſt of the Low Countries, and ſerved as a counterpoiſe to all diſappointments. The preſence of the king and his ſon, and the danger to which theſe two princes and France were expoſed, greatly increaſed the importance of this ever memorable day *.

* After having peruſed this tedious and confuſed detail, one is ſurprized to find M. de Voltaire exclaiming againſt thoſe hiſtorians who take up the reader's time in deſcribing the incidents of battles, from which nothing is to be learned but an imperfect idea of carnage and deſolation.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR of 1741.

Affairs of Genoa in 1746 *and* 1747.

THE war which began upon the Danube, and almoſt at the very gates of Vienna, and which at firſt ſeemed likely to laſt only a few months, was, after continuing ſix years, removed to the ſouthern coaſts of France; and at the ſame time that the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, maſters of Genoa and of the whole coaſt, were making preparations to enter Provence, Brittany was likewiſe menaced by an Engliſh fleet.

The deſign of the enemy, eſpecially the Engliſh, was at that time to invade Provence; to deſtroy Port L'Orient, and with it the Eaſt-India company; to make themſelves maſters of Port Louis, which muſt fall after L'Orient; to lay

lay Brittany under contribution; to excite the Calviniſts towards Rochelle, Languedoc, and Dauphiné, to a revolt; while they were concerting meaſures to attack the different ſettlements of France in Aſia and America, and depended on making themſelves maſters of Naples, after they had brought Genoa under the yoke.

Theſe vaſt expectations were not without ſome foundation; for the Auſtrians were maſters of Italy, and about this time the Engliſh had hardly any more enemies at ſea. Indeed the king's campaigns and marſhal Saxe's victories made amends for every thing. But the king of Great Britain reckoned that he ſhould ſoon make the Dutch a warlike power, by obliging them to accept of his ſon-in-law for their ſtadtholder; beſides, he was then contracting for an entire army of Ruſſians, to ſtop the progreſs of the king's army in Flanders.

In this conjuncture Brittany was no more in a poſture of defence than Provence. An old officer, who commanded at Port Louis, wrote word to court: "I diſcovered, on the 28th of September, a fleet whoſe number is infinitely increaſed; but I ſhall eaſily withſtand theſe Engliſhmen." The 2d of October he wrote again: "They have landed at Polduc with three hundred and fifty flat-bottom boats and fifty-five men of war: if we had muſkets, we ſhould beat them; but the peaſants have nothing but pitchforks."

By theſe letters, it appears to what danger that country was expoſed, notwithſtanding the confident expreſſions of an old commander. General Sinclair, with about ſeven thouſand

regular troops *, landed without oppoſition at the mouth of the little river of Polduc. From thence he advanced to Plemur, and encamped on an eminence which commanded L'Orient and Port Louis. Six days were ſpent before he cannonaded the town. If the Engliſh loſt all this time, the French did not employ it better; for thoſe who commanded in the place, and who were able to defend themſelves a long time, as they had artillery and twelve thouſand militia of Brittany, capitulated the firſt day of the attack, upon receiving a declaration of general Sinclair, in which, according to cuſtom, it was ſignified that he would deſtroy every one that reſiſted with fire and ſword.

Such miſtakes, it is ſaid, were committed on this occaſion, as nothing, except the conduct of general Sinclair, could ſurpaſs. Never was there a ſtronger inſtance how greatly the fate of an important enterprize, and of a whole province, depends on a critical minute, on falſe advice, on a panic, terror, or a miſtake. Early in the morning the drums of the militia, who were not as yet perfect in their trade, beat the general. General Sinclair aſked the people of the country why they beat the general after capitulation. Anſwer was made, that the garriſon had laid a ſnare for him by capitulating; for they were going to fall upon him with twelve thouſand men. During this converſation the wind changed, and Admiral Leſtock made a ſignal to give him notice of it; upon which Sinclair, afraid of being attacked, and of not having an opportunity of re-embarking his

* He had not above half the number

men,

men, precipitately quitted his poſt, and returned to Plemur in ſome confuſion.

In the mean time, thoſe who had made the capitulation came out of the town to make their ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh general; but they could hardly believe their eyes, when they found no-body in the camp. In this prepoſterous manner did the Engliſh reimbark, juſt when the French were come to bring them the keys of the town. Aſhamed of their bad conduct, they made a deſcent upon the little iſland of Quiberon; which was an enterprize as ill contrived, as that of Port L'Orient had been executed; for this being almoſt a deſert iſland, the taking of it could anſwer no purpoſe. In ſhort, this great armament produced nothing but blunders and laughter, whereas every other part of the war was but too ſerious and too terrible *.

At that time a revolution was carrying on in Genoa, much more important and more ſur-

* General Sinclair did all that could be expected. He landed with about three thouſand men, in the face of two thouſand, aſſembled to oppoſe him. He marched ten miles up into the country, inveſted Port l'Orient, and ſummoned the place to ſurrender. Confiding in the ſkill of his engineers, he cauſed a ſmall battery to be built, and began to open trenches; but, in the mean time, the garriſon of the town was reinforced; the works were improved and augmented; a conſiderable body of French troops was advancing to the relief of the place. The engineers failed in performing their promiſe, and repeated meſſages came from admiral Leſtock, importing, that in ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year he could not, and would not continue with the great ſhips on the coaſt of France. In theſe circumſtances, nothing was left for general Sinclair but a retreat, which he executed with the utmoſt deliberation; and we leave the world to judge whether this expedition was more diſgraceful to the French than to the Engliſh nation.

prizing

prizing than that which had lately alarmed the coaſt of Brittany.

The Auſtrians exerciſed the right of conqueſt with the utmoſt rigour. The Genoeſe having exhauſted their reſources, and given away all the money of their bank of St. George, to pay ſixteen millions of livres, deſired to be forgiven the other eight: but the 30th of November, 1746, notice was given them on the part of the empreſs queen, that they muſt not only pay the ſum, but likewiſe as much more, for the maintenance of nine regiments quartered in the ſuburbs of St. Pietro d'Arena, and Biſagno, and in the neighbouring villages. At the publication of theſe orders, deſpair ſeized every inhabitant; their miſery was at the utmoſt pitch; their commerce ruined, their credit loſt, their bank exhauſted, their lands laid waſte, their fine country-houſes, which embelliſhed the environs of Genoa, plundered, and, in ſhort, the people treated as ſlaves by the ſoldiery. They had nothing more to loſe but their lives; and there was not a ſingle Genoeſe who did not ſeem determined to loſe the laſt drop of his blood, rather than to bear any longer with ſo ſevere and ſo ignominious a treatment.

The captive Genoeſe reckoned, among the reſt of their diſgraces, the loſs of the kingdom of Corſica, which had been long in a ſtate of rebellion; and now they made no doubt but the malecontents would be ſupported by the victorious arms of Auſtria. In this chaos of revolutions, Corſica, which pretended to be oppreſſed by Genoa as Genoa was by the Auſtrians, rejoiced at the calamity of her maſters. This additional affliction affected only the ſenate;

nate: by loſing Corſica they were deprived only of a phantom of authority; but the reſt of the Genoeſe were a prey to thoſe real ſorrows with which human miſery is attended. Some of the ſenators privately, and with great addreſs, fomented the deſperate reſolutions, which the inhabitants ſeemed diſpoſed to take. It behoved them to act with the greateſt circumſpection on this occaſion; for, in all probability, a haſty and ill-concerted inſurrection would have been attended with the deſtruction of both ſenate and city. The emiſſaries of the ſenate contented themſelves with ſaying to thoſe who ſeemed to have moſt credit among the people: "Are you then determined to wait till the Auſtrians come to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, to rob you of the little food you have yet left? Their troops are diſperſed without the incloſure of the walls, and only a few left in the city to guard the gates: you are here above forty thouſand men able to ſtrike a blow: is it not far preferable to die, than to be ſpectators of the ruin of your country?" By a thouſand ſuch diſcourſes were the minds of the people inflamed; but they did not yet ſtir, as nobody had dared to ſet up the ſtandard of liberty. An opportunity ſoon offered. The Auſtrians wanted to remove ſome cannon and mortars out of the arſenal of Genoa for the expedition into Provence, and they obliged the inhabitants to perform this drudgery. The people murmured, but obeyed. An Auſtrian captain happening to ſtrike an inhabitant, who did not beſtir himſelf ſufficiently, this was a ſignal, at which the people aſſembled, roſe, and armed themſelves in a moment with every thing they could lay hold

on, with ſtones, ſticks, ſwords, muſkets, weapons of every kind. The people, who had not the leaſt thoughts of defending the town when the enemy was at a diſtance, roſe up in its defence when it was in the poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians.

The marquis de Botta, who was then at St. Pietro d'Arena, imagined that this popular inſurrection would ſubſide of itſelf, and the tranſient fury ſoon be ſucceeded by fear. The next day he only reinforced the guards of the town gates, and ſent ſome detachments into the ſtreets. Upon this the people aſſembled in greater crowds than the preceding day, and flock to the doge's palace, demanding the arms that were kept there. The doge made no anſwer; but the domeſtics pointed out another magazine: the people immediately run and break it open, and arm themſelves; about a hundred officers are diſtributed among the populace: they barricade the ſtreets; and though it was now become neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome kind of order in the midſt of this ſudden and furious commotion, yet it did not in the leaſt ſlacken the popular ardour.

One would think that this and the following days, the conſternation which had ſo long poſſeſſed the minds of the Genoeſe, was transfuſed into the Auſtrians. The marquis de Botta was in St. Pietro d'Arena with ſome regiments, but never once attempted to oppoſe the people with his regular troops: he ſuffered the rebels to make themſelves maſters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael. The ſenate, as yet dubious whether the people would maintain what they had ſo bravely begun, ſent a depu-

tation to the Auſtrian general in St. Pietro d'Arena. Botta negotiated when he ſhould have been fighting: he ordered the ſenators to arm the Genoeſe troops, whom he had left diſarmed in the town, and that they ſhould join the Auſtrians to fall upon the rebels, as ſoon as he had made a proper ſignal. Some of the ſenators, who were devoted to the enemy, promiſed to execute his orders: but could it be expected that the majority of the Genoeſe ſenate would join with the oppreſſors of their country to complete its deſtruction?

The Germans, depending on the correſpondence they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Biſagno, through the ſuburb of that name; but they were received with a volley of cannon and muſket-ſhot. The people of Genoa made an army: the drum was beat in their name, and orders were iſſued, upon pain of death, to every citizen to make his public appearance in arms, and to repair under the colours of his reſpective ward. The Germans were attacked at one and the ſame time in the ſuburb of Biſagno and in St. Pietro d'Arena. The alarm-bell was rung in all the villages of the vallies; and the peaſants aſſembled, to the number of twenty thouſand. A nobleman of the houſe of Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the marquis of Botta in St. Pietro d'Arena, when the general and his nine regiments were obliged to ſave themſelves by flight. They left four thouſand priſoners behind them and above a thouſand ſlain, with all their magaziñes and equipages, and retired in great diſorder to the poſt of Bocchetta: hither they were purſued by the peaſants, who forced them at length

length to quit this poſt, and to fly as far as Gavi. Thus it was that the Auſtrians loſt Genoa, for having deſpiſed and oppreſſed the people, and for being ſo ſimple as to believe that the ſenate would join with them againſt the inhabitants, who had taken up arms in defence of that very ſenate. Europe was ſurprized to ſee how a weak people, who had never been bred to arms, and whom neither the incloſure of their rocks, nor the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, had been able to ſave from the Auſtrian yoke, had the bravery, unaſſiſted, to break their chains, and to expel their conquerors.

In this commotion a great many violences were committed: the people plundered ſeveral houſes belonging to the ſenators ſuſpected of favouring the Auſtrians. But what was more ſurprizing in this revolution is, that this very ſame people, who had four thouſand of their conquerors in priſon, and had driven away the remainder, did not turn their arms againſt their maſters. It is true, they had chiefs; but theſe were pointed out by the ſenate, and none of them were conſiderable enough to uſurp the authority for any time. The people choſe thirty-ſix citizens for their governors; but they added four ſenators to the number, viz. Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomelini, and Fornari. Theſe four nobles gave an account of every thing to the ſenate, who did not ſeem to concern themſelves any longer in the government, though they governed in effect: they diſavowed at Vienna the revolution which they were fomenting at Genoa, and for which they apprehended the moſt dreadful chaſtiſement. Their miniſter at that

count

court declared, that the Genoeſe nobility had no ſhare in that change which was called a revolt. The court of Vienna behaving ſtill as maſters, and fancying they ſhould ſoon be able to recover Genoa, intimated to this miniſter, that the ſenate ſhould inſtantly pay the eight millions of livres, which was the remaining part of their fine, and thirty millions more for the damage done to their troops; that they ſhould reſtore all the priſoners, and puniſh the ringleaders of the revolt. Theſe laws, which a provoked maſter might have preſcribed to impotent and rebellious ſubjects, ſerved only to confirm the Genoeſe in the reſolution of defending themſelves, and in hopes of driving from their territory thoſe whom they had expelled their capital. The four thouſand Auſtrians in the priſons of Genoa, were hoſtages that quieted their fears.

It is in ſuch times of calamity and deſpair, that the ſpirit of patriotiſm and magnanimity ſeem to exert themſelves with the greateſt force; either becauſe thoſe virtues become more conſpicuous in the hour of general diſtreſs, or rather indeed that the love of our oppreſſed country revives the whole vigour of the ſoul, ſo as to raiſe human nature above itſelf. Of this was ſeen a memorable inſtance in Auguſtin Adorno. This brave republican commanded in the town of Savona, which belongs to the territory of the republic. It was beſieged by the king of Sardinia; and the ſenate, having ſubmitted to the Auſtrians, ordered him to give up the town. He made anſwer, that he could not obey any other orders than thoſe of a free ſenate; after which he held out long enough for ſuccours,

ſuccours, but none came. The people of Genoa, though victorious at home, were not ſufficiently diſciplined to engage in the open field; and France, being obliged to defend Provence, could not ſpare any troops for her allies on the other ſide of the Alps. Thus the valour of Auguſtin Adorno only ſerved to make him priſoner of war, at the very time that Genoa was delivered; but he merited the praiſes of his country, as well as of the king of Sardinia, to whom he ſurrendered.

This revolution of Genoa was of great ſervice to Provence. The Auſtrians, who already poſſeſſed one third part of the country, no longer received either proviſions or ammunition by the way of Genoa, as in the beginning: and yet they were advanced as far as the river of Argens, with a deſign of attacking Toulon and Marſeilles, aſſiſted by the Engliſh fleet.

They ſoon took the iſlands of St. Margaret and St. Honorat, which had only a garriſon of invalids.

In thoſe iſlands ſeveral ſtate-priſoners were confined, who flattered themſelves with hopes that the Engliſh would ſet them at liberty; but the commanding officer made ſo quick a capitulation, that they permitted him to carry off all his priſoners, with other effects belonging to the king, and his little garriſon. It is ſurprizing that ſeveral public journals ſhould pretend to ſay, that this commanding officer was the marquis de Dreux, lieutenant-general and grand-maſter of the ceremonies. The miſtake is owing to this, that the marquis de Dreux is lord of thoſe iſlands. The perſon who commanded there, was an old officer, who was tried

by

by a council of war, and condemned to imprisonment, for ſurrendering ſo precipitately.

After the taking of thoſe iſlands, the enemy began the ſiege of Antibes. It was not an eaſy matter to ſtop the progreſs of an army that had ſeventy-one battalions, eight thouſand irregulars, and eight thouſand horſe. Marſhal Belleiſle was intruſted with this undertaking.

Upon his arrival he could only be a ſpectator of the deplorable ſituation, and of the deſpondency of the whole province, as well as of the king's troops. He was neither able to hinder the paſſage of the Var, nor to protect the country occupied by the Auſtrians, who expected a reinforcement of thirty battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons, with cannon, ammunition, and proviſions. The coaſts were guarded by a few frightened militia. The troops, under no ſort of diſcipline, took hay and ſtraw by force from the inhabitants; and the mules employed in the ſervice of the army, periſhed for want of food. The enemy had plundered and laid waſte the whole country, from the Var to the river of Argens and the Durance. Their generals permitted their troops to pillage Vence and Graſſe for the ſpace of ſix hours, becauſe theſe towns had not been expeditious in paying their contributions.

The infant Don Philip and the duke of Modena were at Aix in Provence, where they waited to ſee what efforts France and Spain would make to extricate themſelves from this cruel ſituation. The ſupplies were as yet far off; while the dangers and wants were preſſing. Marſhal Belleiſle began with borrowing fifty thouſand crowns in his own name, to relieve

the

the moſt urgent neceſſities. He was obliged to perform the office of intendant, and of commiſſary of the ſtores. Then, as faſt as the troops came in, he made himſelf maſter of different poſts, where he ſtopped the progreſs of the Auſtrians. On the one ſide he covered Caſtellane on the Verdon, when the Auſtrians were preparing to take poſſeſſion of it; and on the other he ſecured Draguignan and Brignoles.

At length, towards the beginning of January 1747, finding his army increaſed to ſixty battalions and twenty-two ſquadrons, and being ſeconded by the marquis de Mina, who furniſhed him with four or five thouſand Spaniards, he looked upon himſelf as in a condition to attack the enemy. Count Brown, who commanded the Auſtrians, and the marquis of Ormea, who was at the head of a body of Piedmonteſe, were a great deal ſuperior to him in forces. But they met with greater difficulties in procuring ſubſiſtence for their army. This is an eſſential point, which fruſtrates the end of moſt invaſions. Their firſt defeat began with a poſt in the neighbourhood of Caſtellane, from whence a captain of the regiment of Lyonnois, whoſe name was Daupenet, drove them with ſword in hand. They occupied a ſpace of forty leagues; namely, from Sener to St. Tropes. A conſiderable body was beaten and diſlodged from Caſtellane by the count de Maulevrier, and by the marquis de Taubin, a Spaniard. Another corps were alſo diſlodged, and obliged to repaſs the river of Argens. Marſhal Belleiſle, by his winning manner, engaged the Spaniſh troops to ſecond him in every attempt. The marquis de la Mina joined with him in all his

his ſchemes; and this perfect harmony contributed greatly to their common ſucceſs. The enemy were purſued from poſt to poſt, and always with loſs. At length the marſhal obliged them to repaſs the Var, and delivered Provence.

There remained now only one difficult enterprize for the king, and this was to relieve Genoa. During the whole war he had been occupied in protecting his allies; firſt the emperor Charles VII. afterwards the prince of Spain Don Philip, then the pretender to the crown of England, and finally the Genoeſe; and in the whole courſe of the war freſh dangers aroſe from his ſucceſſes.

Marſhal Belleiſle had now driven the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe out of Provence: but there was reaſon to fear that this very enemy, who were ſtrong enough to guard the paſſage of the Alps, had alſo ſufficient ſtrength to fall upon Genoa, and afterwards upon Naples. Though Genoa had expelled the enemy from her walls, yet ſhe was ſtill blocked up by ſea and land. Count Schullemburg ſucceeded the marquis de Botta, and continually threatened the firſt incloſure. Admiral Medley took as much care as poſſible that no ſuccours ſhould enter the harbour. Yet the king of France was continually ſupplying them. Marſhal Belleiſle began with ſending them twenty thouſand louidores by eight officers, among whom this ſum was equally diſtributed. He ordered them to throw the money into the ſea, in caſe they ſhould not be ſo lucky as to eſcape. The officers arrived with the money, proviſions, and ſoldiers, and eſpecially with great promiſes.

With

With this encouragement the Genoeſe withſtood all the attacks of the Auſtrians, as well as the propoſals of the court of Vienna; for this court had ſtill the aſſurance to treat with a people, whom ſo ſevere a treatment and ſo glorious a revolution muſt have rendered ever irreconcileable. The Auſtrians demanded money of them, when they had none; and, on the contrary, the king of France gave them money.

It was not enough that the French had obliged the Auſtrians and the Piedmonteſe to repaſs the Var; it was alſo incumbent upon them to paſs that river in purſuit of the enemy, to drive them beyond the mountains, to enter Italy once more, and above all things ſpeedily to relieve Genoa. There was no ſending any ſuccours to that city but by ſea; and theſe were to ſteal unknown to the Engliſh fleet, which was cruizing off that coaſt. At that time there were but eight ſhips at Toulon, and theſe laid up, three frigates, and two barks; ſo that they were able to arm only ſix gallies, for want of ſeamen. In the mean time the Auſtrians, aſſiſted by the Piedmonteſe, threatened to recover poſſeſſion of Genoa. Count Schullemburg, nephew of the Venetian general, had reinforced his army with Albanians: theſe are the ancient Epirots, who are eſteemed to be as good ſoldiers as their anceſtors. He had repaſſed the Bocchetta, and kept Genoa cloſely blockaded; while the country both to the right and left was given up to the fury of the irregular troops, to plunder and devaſtation. Genoa was ſtruck with terror, and the conſternation produced ſome ſecret correſpondence with their oppreſſors: to complete their miſery, there was a great diviſion betwixt the ſenate and the people.

people. The town did not want proviſions, but money; they were at the expence of eighteen thouſand florins a day, to maintain the militia who fought in the country, or defended the city. The republic had no regular troops well diſciplined, nor any experienced officer: they could expect no ſuccours but by ſea, and even theſe at the hazard of being picked up by the Engliſh fleet, as happened to thoſe which had been ſent to prince Edward. Theſe ſuccours were expected from France and Spain; and if they did not arrive ſoon, all was loſt.

The king of France had already ſent a million of livres to the ſenate. The gallies were now ordered to ſet out from Toulon and Marſeilles with about ſix thouſand men on board. They put into Corſica and Monaco, by diſtreſs of weather, but chiefly to avoid the Engliſh fleet. The maſter of a ſmall veſſel belonging to this convoy, who was a foreigner, took this opportunity to commit a treacherous action: He gave notice of the embarkation to the Engliſh admiral, who came and fell upon the convoy; but they loſt only ſix ſmall veſſels, with about a thouſand ſoldiers. At length the firſt ſuccours reached Genoa, to the number of about four thouſand French, who revived the drooping hopes of the Genoeſe.

Soon after arrived the duke of Boufflers, to take upon him the command of the troops that were to defend Genoa, and whoſe number daily increaſed. The general himſelf was obliged to take his paſſage in an open boat, in order to eſcape admiral Medley's fleet. If the Engliſh had been as diligent and artful as they were magnanimous in their undertaking, they would

have had a proper number of ſmall craft well armed, which would have kept near the ſhore when their great ſhips could not, and have rendered it extremely difficult for the French to ſend any ſuccours. For want of ſome ſuch precaution, detachments of French, Spaniards, and Swiſs, were ſucceſſively coming into Genoa from the coaſt of France; at the ſame time they were ſupplied with proviſions from the coaſt of Italy, while the Engliſh ſtood by as mere ſpectators.

The duke of Boufflers was now at the head of about eight thouſand regular troops, in a town which was blocked up, and expected every moment to be beſieged. There was very little order among them, not much proviſions, and no powder; beſides, the heads of the people were not properly ſubordinate to the ſenate. The Auſtrians had ſtill ſome ſecret intelligence in the town. Thus the duke of Boufflers had as much difficulty to deal with thoſe whom he was come to defend, as with the enemy. Yet he eſtabliſhed order in every quarter; at the ſame time proviſions of all kinds were imported in plenty, by means of a ſecret conſideration given to the captains of the Engliſh ſhips; ſo greatly do public calamities depend on private intereſt.

The Auſtrians had ſome monks on their ſide: the ſame arms were employed againſt them with greater force. The prieſts were prevailed upon to refuſe abſolution to thoſe who ſhould balance a moment between the enemy and their country. An hermit put himſelf at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his enthuſiaſtic declamation, and by his example in fighting: he

was killed in one of thoſe daily ſkirmiſhes, and with his laſt breath exhorted the Genoeſe to defend their country. The ladies pawned their jewels to ſupply the expences of the neceſſary operations.

But of all theſe encouragements, the moſt powerful was the valour of the French troops, whom the duke of Boufflers often employed in attacking the enemy in their poſts beyond the double incloſure of Genoa. There were many more, the poſſeſſion of which would have rendered the operations of the ſiege much eaſier to the enemy: one among the reſt on the coaſt of Riverola, of which the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe made themſelves maſters, very near the mountain of the Two Brothers, and from whence they were by all means to be diſlodged. This action, which was conducted with as much prudence as vigour, revived all their hopes. The count de Lanion diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion; as alſo the chevalier de Chauvelin, who was wounded in the engagement. Here the French loſt colonel la Faye, ſon of the captain of the guards, whoſe character is ſo well known in Paris. This young officer had inherited from his father a very high degree of courage with great application to the ſciences; and from his uncle he had learnt to improve in the moſt agreeable parts of polite literature. The author of this narrative, who knew his merit, cannot too much lament his loſs.

The Genoeſe ſucceeded in almoſt every one of thoſe little ſkirmiſhes, which at that time engroſſed the whole attention, and are afterwards ſwallowed up in the multitude of more important

important events. But what diſconcerted all the meaſures of the Auſtrians in Italy was the progreſs marſhal Belleiſle was making with his army: he had obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Antibes, while his brother retook the iſles of St. Margaret within ſight of the Engliſh fleet: he was maſter of Nice, Villa Franca, and Ventimiglia; and the king of Sardinia was obliged to recall his troops to defend his own dominions. The Auſtrians, being obliged to make a ſtand againſt Belleiſle's army, could not beſiege Genoa in form, leſt the French ſhould advance; ſo that the court of Vienna at length gave orders for raiſing the blockade.

The duke of Boufflers did not long enjoy this happineſs and glory: he died of the ſmall-pox the very day the enemy retired. He was ſon of marſhal Boufflers, a general much eſteemed under Lewis XIV. a man of honour, and a good ſubject; and a ſon who inherited all the amiable qualities of his father.

END of the FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

JUN 9 - 1965

[redacted]

[redacted]